HISTORY OF IRELAND

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History of Ireland

HALF-VOLUME III

IRISH MEN AND WOMEN. TEMP. ELIZABETH

FROM THE ADDISONIAN MS. IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

HISTORY OF IRELAND

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY

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BY

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HALF-VOLUME III
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PREFACE

The period covered by Volume II was for Ireland a period of storm and struggle and suffering. The strife of race had become intensified and embittered by a strife of religion, for England had definitely cut herself off from Rome, and had even become one of the great champions of Protestantism, while Ireland still clung to the Catholic faith. Religious toleration had then made little progress. Neither France nor Spain was willing to tolerate any religion but Catholicism, and, in consequence, history has to condemn the horrors of the Inquisition, and the banishment of the Huguenots. Nor would England allow her subjects to be anything but Protestants. Even the non-conforming Protestants laboured under disabilities; but the Catholics, above all, were trampled on and oppressed. Their attachment to Rome was held to be inconsistent with being loyal subjects; and for such disloyalty no punishment was too severe. Without making allowance for difference of racial temperament, the Englishmen of that time, as previously, thought that what was good for England was also good for Ireland. They regarded Irish customs as rude, the Irish language as a barbarous tongue, and the Irishman's religion—Catholicity—as superstition and idolatry. The people who clung to these deserved little mercy, and often got neither mercy nor justice; they were deemed unworthy of getting the status of English subjects, as they were unworthy to be left in possession of their lands. And hence the Plantation of Ulster, the attempted confiscations of Strafford, the savageries of Cromwell, and the horrors of the penal laws.

In dealing with these events, which have stirred up so many angry passions, it is not easy to steer an even keel. Irish history and Irish politics have sometimes been confounded, and the historian has often written from the politician's standpoint. He

has been a Royalist or a Puritan, a Jacobite or a Williamite, has favoured Ormond or the Nuncio; he has his thesis to prove, his party to vindicate, his opponents to attack; he has been an advocate and a partisan masquerading as a historian.

I have not written in this spirit. I have no thesis to prove, no party to defend or attack; I do not conceive that history is either a panegyric or an invective; I have sought for the truth and told it, regardless of what parties or persons might suffer. I have endeavoured to make the work accurate and impartial, as well as readable. Those who have read the preceding volume have freely admitted that it is marked by these characteristics, and my hope and conviction is that they will find this volume at least equally so. Two of the chapters appeared originally as articles in the *Dublin Review*. I have to express my obligations to the Editors, as well as to Messrs. Burns & Oates, for leave to republish them. I have also to thank Mr. Bagwell for permission to make use of the maps in his valuable work, *Ireland Under the Tudors*; and Messrs. Longmans, Green, & Co., for allowing me to use the sketch-maps of Dublin, Drogheda, and Wexford, in Gardiner's great work on the *Commonwealth and Protectorate*. I am indebted to Colonel Moore, C.B., for his kindness in reading over the portions of the volume dealing with battles and sieges. I am also indebted for assistance to Mrs. Conor Maguire, to Dr. M'Donald of Maynooth College, to Rev. J. J. Tuffy of Claremorris, to Father O'Reilly, the Librarian at the Franciscan Library, Merchant's Quay, Dublin; to Mr. Martin J. Blake, B.L., of Lincoln's Inn, and to Brother Joseph of the Monastery, at Castlebar. And there are many others, who, perhaps, would not wish their names mentioned, but whose kindness to me, in the midst of many difficulties, I am not likely to forget.

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HISTORY OF IRELAND.

CHAPTER I.

The Reign of Edward VI.

WHEN Edward VI. became king he was but nine years old, and he died before he had completed his sixteenth year. Ware laments that his years were so few; points to the fact that he wrote a diary of the events of his reign; that his learning and knowledge were a marvel; and that "posterity might expect extraordinary performances from him if God would have permitted him longer to live." [1] That he had a more than average amount of talent appears certain; but his views on matters of State were those of his teachers rather than his own; and it is more than likely that his diary was so revised and corrected that it might be said to be the work of another hand. His sister Mary, in one of her letters, told himself that, though his knowledge and gifts were beyond his years, she knew that his letters were not his own composition, but proceeded from those "who wish these things to take place which be most agreeable to themselves." [2] The acts of his brief reign, the credit or discredit of them, ought not, therefore, be attributed to this sickly boy, but rather to those counsellors who surrounded him and who acted under the shelter of his name. Under the will of Henry VIII.,

[1] Ware's *Annals.*

[2] Lingard's *History of England*, Vol. v., p. 157; Green's *Short History*, Vol. II., p. 239.

these were sixteen in number, called executors, assisted by another council of twelve, called advisers. Among the executors was the young King's uncle, Seymour, Earl of Hertford, but the position assigned to him was not sufficient for his aspiring disposition, and under the pretext that the arrangement was cumbrous and unworkable, he persuaded a majority of the executors to appoint him Lord Protector of the realm with the special custody of the King's person and with all the powers of royalty. In this position, he exercised unlimited power; flouted both the executive and advisory councils; had himself raised to the dignity of Duke of Somerset; dissolved many of the monasteries which Henry VIII. had spared and appropriated their revenues and lands; and acquired wealth so rapidly that he was enabled to build that magnificent palace in London which still exists under the name of Somerset House. Successful in his first war with Scotland, at first everything promised well. But troubles soon came. His own brother conspired against him and was in consequence imprisoned and executed; his second war with Scotland was unfortunate; his war with France ended in the loss of Boulogne; his religious innovations made him unpopular; his arrogance irritated the executive council; his harshness and intolerance became a menace to its members, until at last, under the Earl of Warwick, a party arose which was strong enough to pull him down, and, like his own brother, a few years earlier, he was accused, condemned and executed. Nor did his successor, the Earl of Warwick, fare better, for he too lost his life in the succeeding reign.

These intrigues and cabals and wars were sufficient to occupy the whole attention of the ruling powers in England during Edward's reign, and, in consequence, Ireland was but little in their thoughts. Yet, it was not altogether forgotten. St. Leger was continued in the office of Viceroy, and continued to pursue his pacific policy with success, the only war in which he was engaged, in the first year of Edward's reign, being one with O'More of Leix and Brian O'Connor of Offaly. More than once, the latter of these chiefs had incurred the enmity of the officials at Dublin; but, six years before this date, his offences were pardoned, and Offaly was divided between himself and his brother Cahir, on condition that they paid tribute and were

obedient to English law, and, so late as 1545, Henry VIII. expressed his willingness to make Brian O'Connor a viscount.[3] In what way he offended subsequently is not clear. Perhaps he refused to pay his yearly tribute; perhaps he made war on some of his neighbours; most likely, the officials at Dublin distrusted and suspected him, and were anxious to get possession of the fertile country over which he ruled. For some cause, both himself and O'More of Leix were proclaimed traitors and expelled from their territories; and when they returned from Connaught and made an attempt to recover what they had lost, they were met by St. Leger, with all his forces, and defeated.[4] In this engagement St. Leger was assisted by Sir Edward Bellingham, who had landed at Waterford earlier in the year, with a force of 1,000 men, and who was placed in command of the English forces in Ireland with the rank of Captain-General. Apparently disapproving of St. Leger's conciliatory measures, the English Council recalled him in the following year (1548), and Bellingham was appointed to succeed him.[5]

The new Viceroy had a record of some years public service. He had been sent as envoy to Hungary, had been Lieutenant of the Isle of Wight, was one of those who took part at the siege of Boulogne, and had been sent on a mission to the Emperor. His services were rated highly by the Lord Protector and his council, and when sending him to Ireland, they wrote to the Viceroy, bidding him be guided by his advice, as Master Bellingham was a gentleman "in whom, for his wisdom, policy and experience in the affairs of war both his Majesty and the council had great confidence."[6] In the wars with France and Scotland, they looked to Ireland with alarm. A French or Scotch force, landed there might meet with considerable support. The chiefs had submitted, but were not enthusiastic subjects of England; the mass of the people were Catholic and distrustful of a Protestant government, and probably would prefer the rule of a Catholic nation such as France. By kindness and conciliation, they might have been made

[3] *State Papers*, Henry VIII., Vol. III., pp. 334, 524.
[4] *Four Masters*, 1547.
[5] Hamilton's *Calendar of State Papers*.
[6] *Carew Papers*, Vol. II., Introduction.

more loyal, by allowing them the free exercise of their religion and giving them time to abandon ancient customs and adopt English ways. But Somerset and his friends in sending Bellingham did not intend to try conciliation. They despised the Irish; they were Catholics, and Somerset was determined they should be Protestants; and if they did not yield, they were to be whipped into submission. For such a policy Bellingham was not an unsuitable instrument, and the vigour with which he hastened to crush O'Connor and O'More showed that he was in earnest. But this victory did not end his difficulties, and many others had to be met. There were pirates everywhere along the coast. At Youghal, a pirate named Smith had plundered their fishing boats; at Kinsale, there was a pestilence, "they had a wide empty town, few men and naughty neighbours," and pirates had full command of the harbour and would allow no access to the town.[7] At Cork, English pirates haunted the mouth of the harbour and menacingly lay along the coast; at Wexford, one of the merchants had been robbed on the high seas by pirates from Fecamp; at Waterford, foreigners were afraid to trade with the port because of the pirates who infested the coasts; and at Galway, where they were similarly threatened, they had to report to the Deputy that they could make no fortifications, they were so poor. Nor was this all. A report was current, and caused no little alarm to the friends of England, that young Gerald Fitzgerald had landed in Ireland, and was to be made king by the aid of French arms. Galway was wasted round the city by Richard Burke, the illegitimate son of the Earl of Clanricarde; the Kavanaghs were restless in Wicklow; the O'Tooles and some of the Fitzgeralds were at war;[8] an English adventurer named Fay had been invited by O'Mellaghlin to assist him against his neighbour MacCoghlin, and soon was strong enough to fight both MacCoghlin and O'Mellaghlin, acting together; O'Carroll of Ely had entered Ormond and burned the town of Nenagh; Manus O'Donnell and his son Calvagh were at war;[9] and the Earl of Desmond was reported to have all the

[7] Hamilton's *Calendar*, p. 80.
[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 87-8.
[9] *Four Masters.*

lords and gentlemen of Munster obedient to him, and was plotting rebellion.[10] All these things happened in 1548, before Bellingham was more than six months in office.

His measures were prompt and vigorous. He had the seaport towns fortified, built a strong castle at Athlone, freed Magennis, MacMahon, and O'Hanlon from paying tribute to O'Neill of Tyrone;[11] he sent messages to Kavanagh solemnly warning him of the danger of breaking the law, with the result that Kavanagh mended his ways;[12] cut passes through Offaly and Leix and built fortifications in these districts; and compelled the Burkes, who had harassed the neighbourhood of Limerick, to give the mayor of that city hostages for their good behaviour. Distrustful of the Earl of Desmond, he invited him to Dublin, and when Desmond disregarded his invitation, he took with him a small body of troops, hurriedly made his way south, and seized the astonished Earl as he was seated by his fire, spending the Christmas days, and carried him off a prisoner to Dublin.[13] And he sent a letter to the Earl of Thomond, advising him as a friend to mind his own business and not to meddle in the quarrels of others, and telling him that whoever shall "with manifest invasion enter, burn and destroy the king's people, I will no more suffer it than to have the heart torn out of my body. When the King's subjects commit such offences, they are traitors and rebels, and so I will use them."[14] Both O'Connor and O'More he finally crushed. He was specially warned by the English Council to make terms with neither, unless they surrendered unconditionally, and both, expelled and exiled from their ancestral territories, wandered aimlessly about, abandoned by their own countrymen, who feared to aid them. At last, they made their way to Dublin and submitted unconditionally to Bellingham, who sent them to England, where both were granted pensions and where O'More soon died. Brian O'Connor was kept a prisoner until the next reign, when he was

[10] Hamilton's *Calendar*, p. 83.
[11] Ware's *Annals*, Carew *MSS.*, Vol. I., pp. 215-20.
[12] Hamilton, pp. 89, 94, 102.
[13] Ware's *Annals*.
[14] Richey, *Lectures on Irish History*, Second Series, p. 194.

set free. His brother Cahir, in the meantime, rose in rebellion, but was defeated with heavy loss.[15] Many of these chieftains' followers in Offaly and Leix were compelled or induced to go to England and join the King's army, for it seems they were not to be trusted as the King's subjects, but might be trusted to fight his battles. Bereft of their chiefs and of their fighting men, Leix and Offaly might be dealt with by Bellingham in whatever way he pleased, and his plan was, that the natives be deprived of the best part of their lands, and these lands given to English colonists, and thus, a beginning was made with the policy of planting Ireland with English settlers.[16] Bellingham was much praised for his activity and for the success which attended his efforts. Butler, Archbishop of Cashel, told the Lord Protector that he had "opened the very gate of the right reformation;" Bodkin, Archbishop of Tuam, wrote that his fame was "divulgated" throughout all Ireland, to the great fear of malefactors and evildoers; and Allen, who had filled the office of Lord-Chancellor, declared, but with reluctance, that Bellingham was the best man of war that he ever saw in Ireland.[17] He appears to have been a just man, strict, impartial, stern and severe. "He paid for all he took and was a true-dealing man, and could not abide the cry of the poor."[18] Even the Earl of Desmond, who might be supposed to resent the rough treatment which he had received, had, on the contrary, the greatest respect for him, became his friend after coming to Dublin, and afterwards spoke of him as the "Good Bellingham."[19]

This rough but honest soldier had little in common with the clique of self-seekers and time-servers who made up the Privy Council at Dublin. He soon discovered that their chief concern was for themselves, and that they desired to make the public interests subservient to their own. Intriguing, hatching plots, sending messages to London to blacken the character

[15] Hamilton's *Calendar*, p. 87.
[16] *Four Masters.*
[17] Hamilton, pp. 78, 81, 103.
[18] Richey, p. 193.
[19] Ware's *Annals.* Bagwell, *Ireland under the Tudors*, Vol. I., pp. 344-5.

of others and to enhance their own services in the eyes of the English Council—such was the work in which they were engaged. Bellingham despised them, treated them with the scantest courtesy, often acted without consulting them. He told them he had not so great an enemy in Ireland as they were, sometimes left them for hours in the Council Chamber without putting in an appearance, threatened to commit them if they interfered with him, and told them bluntly that if they were all hanged, it were a good turn for the king.[20] The Council retorted by intriguing against him, and in this work the chief part was taken by Sir Francis Bryan, who felt specially aggrieved. As the husband of the widowed Duchess of Ormond, he expected that his position would be not inferior to that which the Earls of Ormond had held. They had always been the fastest friends of the government at Dublin, and, of all the King's subjects in Ireland they were first in dignity and influence. But Bellingham was not in the humour to tolerate such pretensions, and was determined to govern without the Butlers. He would recognise Bryan as a subject and nothing more, and had just as little respect for his opinion and as little need for his co-operation as for that of any other member of the Council. The result could be easily foreseen. Bryan was influential in England and with the Council there; he was appointed (1549) Marshall of the army in Ireland, and in a short time was able to bring about Bellingham's recall. Pending the arrival of a new Viceroy from England, he was elected Deputy by his colleagues, but almost immediately died. Brabazon was then elected, and in the year 1550 St. Leger returned as Viceroy.

By the Irish chiefs he was well received. The bullying and hectoring of Bellingham they resented; it ill suited the temper of men in whose veins flowed the blood of kings. The conciliatory policy of St. Leger they appreciated, and, when he arrived in Dublin, the Earls of Tyrone, Desmond, Thomond, and Clanricarde hastened to the City, to bid him welcome.[21] But he had, never-

[20] *Carew MSS.*, Vol. II., Introduction.
[21] Hamilton's *Calendar*, p. 113.

theless, many troubles. There were French agents in Tyrconnell who had opened up communications with the Irish chiefs, with the object of landing French troops in Ireland.[22] The forts erected by Bellingham were out of repair; the port towns in the south were defenceless; and though he was expected to put forts and port towns in a state of defence, he could get no money from the government at Dublin.[23] Allen, the Lord Chancellor, had just retired from office, but he still lived in Ireland; he was an old enemy of St. Leger, and sent many reports to England which were intended to damage him. The Viceroy's gentle treatment of the Irish chiefs met with little favour from the English Council; he disagreed with Browne, the Archbishop of Dublin, who like Allen plotted his ruin; he had little sympathy with the religious innovations in England, which the English Council wished to have carried out in Ireland as well. These multiplied difficulties he felt unequal to combat; he was anxious to be relieved of office, and in the following year he was recalled, and Sir James Croft was appointed to succeed him.

The new Deputy was instructed by the English Council to propagate the reformed doctrines, to prevent the sale of Church lands, "to execute the laws justly, collect the revenue carefully and muster the army honestly," to get possession of the various seaports, so that the customs might be duly collected, to search for mines, to let the King's lands, especially Leix and Offaly, on leases of 21 years, to induce the Irish nobility to exchange part of their Irish lands for a like amount in England, to allow trade to all foreigners, and lastly to reduce the O'Byrnes and O'Tooles, no doubt, in the same manner as had been already done with O'More and O'Connor.[24] Similar instructions had been given to St. Leger in the previous year, but were not and could not be carried out, and when Croft endeavoured to carry out his instructions he was not always successful, and in Ulster his efforts ended in disaster. This was a contest with the MacDonnells of Antrim, in which he

[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 106-8.
[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 110-112.
[24] Cox, *Hibernia Anglicana*, pp. 290-1.

was defeated both by land and sea.[25] These events happened in the year 1551. The same year the O'Neills of Tyrone were at war, and all Ulster was in confusion. In Leix and Offaly, the lands from which the natives had been driven were still unleased, the country for the most part lay waste, and the maintenance of the garrisons there cost £7,000 marks yearly.[26] There was great misery on account of bad money being put in circulation, and Croft very naturally complained, in a letter to the Duke of Northumberland, that he could not understand why Ireland should have worse money than England.[27] In many other directions, however, Croft's administration was a success. The Ulster chiefs, Magennis, O'Hanlon, and MacMahon, agreed to pay a yearly tribute to the government; both in the Ardes and in Clannaboy English sheriffs were appointed, where hitherto English law was flouted, and these chiefs solemnly promised to cease employing Scots as mercenary soldiers. MacCarthy More in the South had voluntarily made his submission; and O'Neill of Clannaboy, in the humblest fashion, had supplicated pardon for his past misdeeds, and bound himself by agreement that he would forfeit his captaincy and all his lands "if ever he should depart from his faith of obedience," or from such orders as the government at Dublin should prescribe for the government of his territory.[28]

In a letter sent by the Irish Lord Chancellor, Sir Thomas Cusack, to the Lord Protector, we have an exhaustive survey of the condition of Ireland in May, 1552, and as Cusack travelled through the various provinces and saw most of the chiefs, and the state of the districts in which they held sway, his report is especially valuable.[29] In Leinster, Leix and Offaly were considered part of the Pale, for one of the merits attributed to Bellingham was that he had extended the boundaries of the Pale to that extent. In the country of the MacMurroghs, or Kavanaghs, Croft had established English strongholds and placed English garrisons, and

[25] *Four Masters.*
[26] Hamilton's *Calendar*, p. 122.
[27] *Ibid*, p. 118.
[28] *Carew MSS.*, p 234.
[29] *Carew MSS.*, pp. 235-46.

Cusack's hope was that the whole district would soon be conformable to English law. The same amount of progress had not been made with the O'Byrnes and O'Tooles, but they were in salutary dread of English power, and though they paid no rent to the Deputy, they maintained at their own expense a certain number of soldiers, who were to be always at his service in time of war. In Munster, the MacCarthy More, "the most powerful Irishman in Ireland," who on very slight pretext was wont to waste the country, had become obedient to the orders of the English officials at Cork. So also did the Earls of Desmond, and the Lords Barry and Roche and Fitzmaurice, and in their countries, the modern counties of Limerick and Cork and Kerry, English justices rode their circuits and administered English law, and these lords and the Justices were joined together in the same commission. In the country of O'Brien of Ara, eastward of the Shannon, the King's sheriffs were obeyed, as they were in the land of the O'Kennedys, O'Dwyers, and O'Carrolls, "who were wont to be mortal enemies of the English Pale." And Cusack suggested that a President of Munster be appointed, with his residence at Limerick, who would keep these various chiefs in order, and see that English law was impartially administered, and he thinks if this were done the King in a short time would have great revenue where now he has nothing but obedience.

Westward of the Shannon, the O'Briens quarrelled about the succession after the death of Maurice, first Earl of Thomond; but the friendly intervention of the Viceroy effected a settlement. Donogh became recognised Earl of Thomond and head of the O'Briens, and the old Irish order of succession—tanistry—was abandoned. Similar disputes in Clanricarde were similarly appeased. Cusack visited the place in person, terrorised the malefactors and disturbers, had Richard Burke recognised Earl, and a country which was wasted by years of war, and in which neither life nor property was secure, became so quiet and law-abiding, that "people leaveth their plough and irons and cattle in the fields, without fear of stealing." Experience had taught him that there was nothing so good with such people as good order to be observed and kept among them, and for this purpose he

suggested that a President of Connaught be appointed, with his residence either at Galway or Athenry. With MacWilliam Burke, next to Clanricarde the most powerful man in Connaught, he had little difficulty, but in Hy Many, which he also visited, the path to peace and honour was not so easy. Its chief, O'Kelly, had made promises to the Deputy, but had not kept them; there was no man in Ireland of "wilder nature"; and Cusack, unable to win him over by kindness, had recourse to sterner measures. He took his son and put him in irons, and was bringing him to Dublin, when the old chief submitted, and carried out the promises he had formerly made. And he agreed that Hy Many should become shire ground. The O'Connors and the MacDermotts Cusack describes as men of small account, "one of whom continually warreth against others." He had no personal intercourse with them, but, by the aid of Clanricarde, he took possession of O'Connor's castle of Roscommon, which he garrisoned with English troops. He did not visit O'Rorke's country or O'Donnell's, and he lamented that Sligo, which ought to belong to the King and was the best "haven town in all that country," was still kept by the O'Connors. Eastward of the Shannon, he found the country obedient, and for some goods, stolen from the poor people, the English sheriff, with only ten horsemen, distrained to the value of the goods stolen, and had the injured compensated. O'Reilly of Breffni, he also compelled to make atonement for thefts committed by his people. O'Farrell of Annally regularly paid his tribute to the King's government, and so also did the Ulster chiefs, O'Hanlon, Magennis, Macarten, and O'Neill of Clannaboy. The northern districts, the Glynns, ruled by the MacDonnells and the MacQuillans, he had not visited, and could not say that they were reduced to obedience. Only when they were fighting among themselves was the peace of O'Rorke's country or of Tyrconnell broken, but this was often, and the same might be said of many other clans. In 1548, the O'Donnells, father and son, were at war, so were the O'Rorkes, and the O'Connors and the MacDermotts attacked the Fitzgeralds. Three years later, MacDermott, who had been tyrannising over the chiefs of North Connaught, was defeated by Clanricarde and taken prisoner, and no sooner was he released

than he again attacked O'Connor Roe.[30] As to the O'Connors, they were mere puppets in Clanricarde's hands, and peseer w and pulled down at his pleasure.[31]

During these years, the Reformation was pushed on in England with great vigour; many changes were made in the doctrines and ritual of the State Church, and corresponding changes were sought to be effected in Ireland. The State religion, in the last years of Henry VIII., was that of the King himself, and might be described as the faith of the Catholics, with the Pope left out and Henry substituted for him. In 1545, a Primer or Prayer Book was published by the King's authority, and perhaps was the King's composition, the object of which was to have uniformity established in the form of public prayers.[32] But it was not intended as a liturgy, for, by the Six Articles, the Mass was prescribed. Among Henry's Council there were some who, like Norfolk, clung to the ancient faith in its entirety, and there were others who wished for greater changes than had yet taken place. Of this latter class was Seymour, Earl of Hertford, who in the new reign became Lord Protector. He dissembled his opinions while Henry lived; but with Henry's death dissimulation was laid aside, and, armed with the powers of the kingdom, he was determined that sweeping changes should be made. In this work his chief supporter was Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, a supple time-server, who changed with the changing governments, sacrificed everything and everybody to his own interests, and was concerned above all to retain place and power. So early as 1547, it was prohibited to burn lights before any image; at the opening of Parliament in that year, parts of the Mass were said in English, instead of in Latin, and Parliament, under the influence of Somerset and Cranmer, abolished episcopal elections, and in future bishops were to be appointed by the King, in the same way as any other government officials. And the same Parliament, without consulting the members of Convocation, passed an Act prescribing

[30] *Carew Papers*, p. 239.
[31] *Four Masters, Annals of Loch Ce.*
[32] Three Primers put forth in the Reign of Henry VIII.

communion in both kinds.[33] Within two years, in addition to the abolition of Papal supremacy, there were many monasteries suppressed which had escaped Henry VIII.; confession was prohibited, and the use of candles and processions; the Act of Uniformity was passed, abolishing the Mass and substituting in its place the liturgy in English, as contained in the Book of Common Prayer, which was the composition of Cranmer and his colleagues. Some resemblance was still left to the Mass; there was at least the same sequence in the prayers of which it was composed; but in the second book of Common Prayer, which was published in 1552, this resemblance disappeared. These changes suited Somerset, but they were not welcomed by the people at large, and Somerset was informed confidentially by his agent that eleven out of every twelve of the people professed the Catholic faith and rejected the new doctrines.[34] Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, refused to conform and was deprived of his See, and a like fate befell Bonner, Bishop of London, and Tunstal, Bishop of Durham, and others. Insurrections broke out in various places. North of the Humber, the changes were unpopular; from the Bristol Channel to the west was in a blaze; Devon and Cornwall demanded that the Mass should be restored.[35] These revolts were sternly suppressed, and special mention is made of the Oxfordshire Papists who were apprehended, "and some gibbeted and their heads fastened to the walls"; in other places, the dead bodies of priests who had been executed "were seen dangling from the steeples of the parish churches, and the heads of laymen set up in the high places of the towns."[36]

In Ireland, the Act of Uniformity could not be enforced, as the people did not understand English; but St. Leger and his successors were commanded to propagate the new doctrines. Browne of Dublin and some others were zealous in this direction, but St. Leger himself was not, nor were even the officials. The inhabitants within the Pale in their hearts clung to the ancient faith, but for

[33] Gasquet, *Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer*. p. 70
[34] Lingard, *History of England*, Vol. v., p. 151.
[35] Gasquet, pp. 251-4.
[36] *Ibid.*, p. 254.

the most part remained quiescent. Outside of the Pale the native chiefs, terrorised by Henry VIII., had taken the Oath of Supremacy and in some cases had even shared in the plunder of the monasteries, but they did not go beyond this, and were more attached to the old faith than to the new. The people under them were, without exception, still Catholic; they did not understand the new doctrines, nor care to understand them, and if we except the officials and the bishops appointed by the King, who were after all but government officials, there were no Protestants in Ireland.[37] Such little progress was made that even Browne lost courage; his zeal abated; preaching ceased; and for three years, St. Leger declared, only one sermon was preached within the Pale, and this was preached by Staples, Bishop of Meath.[38]

Bellingham, who succeeded St. Leger, was a strong reformer, and loyally co-operated with Browne. Determined to succeed where others had failed, he first addressed himself to Dowdall, Archbishop of Armagh. When Cromer died in 1543, Dowdall had been appointed his successor by Henry VIII., it being implied that he accepted the King's spiritual supremacy. A rival, Wauchope, was appointed by the Pope, and in that capacity was present at the Council of Trent; he also introduced the Jesuits into Ireland.[39] He retired to Paris, where he died in 1551, and did not live at Armagh, or in Ireland, for it soon became evident that Dowdall rejected the King's spiritual supremacy and was a zealous and faithful supporter of Papal authority. He was a man of stainless character, of recognised purity of purpose, of strong convictions, and in striking contrast with such a government hireling as Browne. His loyalty to England was undoubted, and in consequence, though his religious views were well known, and were not concealed, he was for years unmolested in his position, and successive Viceroys treated him with consideration and respect. In a letter sent him by Bellingham, in 1549, he tells him that he both loves and esteems him, recognises that God had given him great

[37] Richey, p. 156.
[38] Richey, p. 200.
[39] Stuart's *Historical Memoirs of Armagh* (Coleman's Edition) pp. 141-2.

gifts, begs him to set forth to the people the plain, simple truth, and invites him to come to Dublin, so that he may consult with him.[40] It does not appear that Dowdall then came, but two years later he did. In the meantime St. Leger had become Viceroy, When he arrived at Dublin, he attended Mass, as in the old times, but the time had come when such conduct could not be tolerated, for the liturgy in English was already prescribed and enforced in England, and in 1551, the English Privy Council directed that the same order of things should be established in Ireland. With no sympathy for these changes, St. Leger told Browne that his "matters of religion would spoil all."[41] He could see that nobody in Ireland wanted the Book of Common Prayer except a few, and that unwelcome innovations would spoil the happy effects of his conciliatory policy. But it was unsafe to disobey his English masters. He had no ambition to be a martyr; he was only a government official, prepared to serve whatever government was in power, to humour their whims, to trim his sails to the shifting winds. And in accordance with the orders he had received, he summoned a meeting of the bishops, and to show his obedience to the English Council and his zeal for their views, he undertook to argue, and if possible to convince Dowdall. But that prelate was not so easily convinced, and he and the bishops of his province left the conference, still unchanged.[42] In Croft's viceroyalty, a similar conference was held at Dublin (1552), and, like that of the preceding year, it also was abortive. To punish Dowdall for his obstinacy, the government deprived him of the honours of the Primacy, which were given to Browne; and as Dowdall felt that this was but the prelude to sterner measures, which perhaps might involve the sacrifice of his life, he left Ireland altogether. His place was soon filled by the appointment of Hugh Curwen.

At the same time, another reforming bishop was appointed at Ossory, in the person of John Bale. An Englishman and a Carmelite friar, he deserted his vows and got married, and of the religion

[40] *Carew Papers*, Vol. II., Introduction.
[41] Richey, p. 201.
[42] Ware's *Annals*.

in which he was born, and of which he was the consecrated minister, he became the bitterest enemy. For these attacks in the reign of Henry VIII. he was for a time imprisoned, and on his release fled to Germany. He came back at the accession of Edward, more embittered than ever against the Church which he had abandoned.[43] Whatever savoured of its doctrines or its liturgy he detested and attacked; and he approved of the second Prayer Book of Edward rather than of the first one, because, in what it contained, all resemblance to the Mass was lost. For a similar reason he insisted on being consecrated bishop according to the new rites, though the consecrating prelates favoured the old. Narrow-minded and intolerant, he had nothing but the coarsest abuse for whoever presumed to differ from him. Browne of Dublin he called an epicure and a glutton;[44] Lockwood, the Dean of Christchurch, was a blockhead and an ass-headed dean; the people were guilty of "murders, thefts, idolatries and abominable whoredoms." At Kilkenny, the people were all Catholics, and amongst the clergy of his diocese he found "no helpers but adversaries a great number." A Christian and a gentleman, such as a bishop might be expected to be, would have spoken with charity, would have argued and tried to convince, but such Christian conduct was ill-suited to the temper and habits of this ferocious bigot. Their religion, he called idolatry, their prayers for the dead, useless; and on all these ceremonies, consecrated as they were by centuries of usage and practised by millions of men, he poured forth a torrent of the vilest blasphemy. For a time the people of Kilkenny, whose feelings he had thus outraged, bore with him, but at last their patience became exhausted and they turned on him with fury, attacked him in his house, and killed five of his servants. Nor would Bale have fared better but that he was rescued by the military commander, at the head of a troop of horse. The Bishop was conveyed to Dublin, whence he escaped to England, disguised as a sailor, and after many hardships arrived at Bale, where he remained until the accession of Elizabeth.[45]

[43] Ware's *Bishops*.
[44] Richey, pp. 210-16.
[45] *Harleian Miscellany*, Vol. VI., pp. 452-6. (*Vocacyon of John Bale.*)

Staples of Meath was not so violent as Bale, but was little less unpopular, and was told by one of his priests that he had more curses from the people than he had hairs on his head.[46] In spite of all his and Browne's efforts, the Reformation was at a standstill, and the people, both within and without the Pale, were still Catholics. Such was the state of the country when the Protestant Edward died and the Catholic Mary ascended the throne.

[46] Richey, p. 218.

CHAPTER II.

The Reign of Mary.

THE life of Queen Mary before she ascended the throne was full of troubles and sorrows. She had seen her mother degraded from her dignity as Queen, divorced from the husband to whom she had been faithful, her liberty and even her life imperilled, because she persisted in believing in that religion in which she was born. The daughter held firmly by the mother's faith, and in consequence was treated with the same disrespect and even harshness. She was declared illegitimate and the child of a mistress preferred before her; her mother's early death left her without a mother's care; her life was in constant jeopardy in her father's reign; and in the reign of her brother, she was with reluctance allowed the privilege of having Mass said privately in her house.[1] When she became Queen her youth and beauty were gone, her health was poor, and the recollection of all she had gone through had hardened her nature and soured her temper. From her mother, she had inherited her strong religious convictions; from her father, his despotic nature, his stubborn will, his impatience of control or opposition. Under her influence the Catholic religion was declared the religion of the State, and the Acts passed against it were repealed; the reforming bishops were thrust out of their Sees, and Bonner and Gardiner and others were released from prison, and, restored to the positions from which they had been driven, became the Queen's confidential advisers. These things were done by

[1] Lingard, Vol. v., p. 157.

the advice of her Council and with the almost unanimous consent of her Parliament.[2] But Mary was not satisfied with restoring the ancient faith. She lived in an age of religious intolerance; she would have no religion in the State but one, and those who attacked it, or publicly held the new doctrines, she regarded as public enemies, against whom severe laws were passed and were cruelly enforced. To punish rebels such as Northumberland and Wyatt, who had sought to deprive her of her throne, was legitimate;[3] to deprive the reforming bishops of their Sees could not be found fault with, as long as they persisted in their beliefs, and as long as the religion of the State was Catholic. But to cast them into prison and burn them at the stake was neither necessary nor just; and the burning of 200 persons during her reign,[4] most, if not all, of whom conscientiously held the religious opinions to which they had given utterance, was a measure cruel and barbarous; and the constancy displayed by such men as Ridley and Latimer did more to the injury of Catholicism, and the advancement of the Reformation, than all the preaching of the Reformers could have done.[5]

In Ireland there were no similar scenes. The bishops appointed by Henry and Edward were ready to adopt the creed of their sovereign, and to change it as the sovereign changed; and to make such sacrifices for the faith as so many of the Reformers did in England, was the last thing they were prepared to do. Even Bale had no ambition to shed his blood. He showed every readiness to abuse the ancient church, and was as coarse and vulgar after Mary's accession as before it; but when he found that the anger of the people at Kilkenny was turned against him and that his life was in danger he sought safety in flight. Browne of Dublin had done much harm to the Catholic Church, but he was more cautious, perhaps less sincere, than Bale; like Cranmer, his main purpose was to maintain his position; and when Bale in his flight reached Dublin, Browne refused to meet

[2] Lingard, Vol. v., p. 199.
[3] *Ibid*, pp. 212-13.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 239.
[5] Green's *Short History*, Vol. II., pp. 256-60.

him, or be in any way identified with him. If he thought that by doing so his past conduct would be condoned, he erred. He was deprived of the Primacy, in 1553, and in the next year, he was expelled from the See of Dublin, as being a married man, and it is thought, adds Ware "had he not been married he had been expelled, having appeared so much for the Reformation." [6] Nor was much sympathy felt for him anywhere. His arrogance, his insolence, his intolerance, his vanity and ambition, his grasping avarice, his cringing to those in power, had alienated the sympathy and respect of all; after twenty years in Dublin he had made no friends and many enemies, and from the Viceroy down, none felt for him in his misfortune, or pitied him in his fall. His death is referred to the year 1556, but the exact place and time are not known. The fate of Staples of Meath and Lancaster of Kildare was similar to that of Browne, and for a similar reason, for they, like Browne, were married. The other prominent apostate was Casey of Limerick, who had been appointed by the Earl of Thomond, and who, on Mary's accession, imitated the example of Bale and fled the country.[7] It does not appear that any others were deprived of their Sees, the reason being that they did not identify themselves with the progress of the Reformation, and their recognition of the spiritual supremacy was only outward and nominal. In their hearts they held the ancient faith, and were glad that they were free to openly profess it under the protection of a Catholic monarch.

The places vacated were filled, at Dublin by Curwen, an Englishman, in Meath by William Walsh; Thonory became Bishop of Ossory, Lacy Bishop of Limerick, Foley Bishop of Leighlin, Leverous Bishop of Kildare, Skyddy Bishop of Cork, Fitzgerald, Archbishop of Cashel; and these are the only changes of any importance affecting the Church as recorded in the Rolls and State Papers of Mary's reign.[8] Included in this list ought to be Dowdall, who was restored to the See of Armagh and to the Primacy; his goods and chattels which were taken away in his absence were to be recovered for him by the Deputy, if possible;

[6] D'Alton, *Archbishops of Dublin*, pp. 234-5.
[7] Ware's *Bishops*.
[8] *Carew Papers*, Vol. III., Introduction

he was to be compensated for losses sustained, and to be given the Priory of Ardee for the term of his life, without paying any rent.[9] These appointments indicate that Mary, like her father and brother, assumed to be head of the Church as well as of the State, but she did not exclude the Pope, nor deny his supremacy, nor did she claim to have spiritual jurisdiction. She insisted that no episcopal elections should take place without her licence being first issued to the diocesan chapter, and she assumed the right to confer the temporalities of the See, but beyond this she did not go. She recognised the Pope's right to issue bulls in her dominions; she received his legate and respected him, and she accepted with pleasure his recognition that she was Queen of Ireland.[10]

In effecting these sweeping changes the Queen got no opposition from the government officials at Dublin, but, on the contrary, all, from the Deputy down, hastened to carry out her decrees. These officials were a strange race. They did not feel the necessity of clinging to any creed. They knew no religion but interest; they looked always to temporal concerns and personal convenience; accommodated themselves to whatever party was in power; and changed their creed as they cast off their clothes. What they affirmed to-day they denied to-morrow; accepted without question the claim of the reigning sovereign to regulate the people's faith, and believed, or pretended to believe, that in spiritual matters, as well as in others, it was the right of the sovereign to command and the duty of the subject to obey. And the very men who in the reigns of Henry and Edward called the Catholics Papists and idolaters, became, in Mary's reign, Papists and idolaters themselves. In 1551, St. Leger had endeavoured to convert Dowdall to Protestantism,[11] and the same year, had assumed the air of a deeply injured man, because he had been called a Papist.[12] Before three years had expired, he held office under a Papist Queen, was a full-blown Papist, and helped to deprive Browne of the See of Dublin, because he was

[9] Morrin, *Calendar of the Patent Rolls*, p. 302.
[10] Morrin, pp. 306-7, 339.
[11] Richey, pp. 205-6.
[12] *Carew Papers*, Vol. II., Introduction.

an enemy of the Papist creed. At Dublin he attended Mass, and so did his successor, the Earl of Sussex, who received the sword of state from St. Leger in Christ Church after both had attended Mass there in state.[13]

But while the Reformation, for a time at least, was thus ended in Ireland, the damage done to the Catholic Church was not so easily repaired. Fifteen years had elapsed since Browne and his fellow-commissioners were assigned the task of effectually suppressing the monasteries, and ever since the alienation of church lands and the destruction of church property had been carried on until little remained in the hands of their ancient owners. Browne himself and influential members of the Council at Dublin were thus enriched. The monastery of Clonard, with the lands and buildings attached, went to the Chancellor, Sir Thomas Cusack, the Abbey of Fore to Sir William Seyntlowe, and Tintern Abbey and Bective also passed into the hands of laymen.[14] The soldiers who fought for the government at Dublin imitated the conduct of their masters, and as they could not in every case, or in many cases, get grants of lands, they attacked and robbed the churches. Everything of value was thus carried off—crosses, croziers, bells, chalices; even the ciborium which contained the Blessed Sacrament was neither reverenced nor spared.[15] And the Four Masters record that the English of Athlone plundered Clonmacnoise and that there was not left a bell, small or large, an image, or an altar, or a book, or a gem, or even glass in a window from the wall of the church out which was not carried off; and thus was plundered the "city of Kieran."[16]

A feeble attempt was made by Queen Mary to recover these stolen goods, and commissions were appointed through the various counties to inquire concerning the chalices, crosses, bells, and other property belonging to the parish churches or chapels, of sales made of such property and of the prices received, and also in whose possession were the houses and lands belonging

[13] *Carew Papers*, Vol. I., p. 258.
[14] Morrin, pp. 252-5, 267, 280.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. 171.
[16] *Four Masters*, at 1552.

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to these churches.[17] But some of these commissioners were themselves in possession of church property, which they had appropriated in the scramble of the last few years, and in such an inquiry, they could scarcely be expected to show much zeal, and so the church property was not restored.

Unity of faith was now established between the English and the native Irish; but it was the only unity that existed; and in other respects, Mary's policy did not differ from that of her predecessors. Left to herself, she was disposed to a policy of leniency, and apart altogether from her restoration of the Catholic faith, there were other acts of hers which met with popular applause. After passing through events which might take rank with the wanderings of Ulysses, young Gerald Fitzgerald had escaped the vengeance of Henry VIII. and finally reached Rome. During the short reign of Edward VI., he had resided with, and had been educated and protected by his kinsman, Cardinal Pole.[18] When Mary became Queen, Pole, as Papal Legate, became a man of enormous influence, and his pupil and friend became Earl of Kildare, was restored to his father's estates, and allowed to returned to Ireland.[19] The same year (1554) saw the return of another Irish exile in the person of Brian O'Connor. For years he had resided in London, but was ill at ease in the land of the stranger; he pined for his native land and made many efforts to escape. And when his daughter Margaret heard that a woman sat on the English throne, she made her way to England to plead for her father. She could speak English, and was thus able to appeal to the Queen in her native tongue; and a woman pleading for her father, now grown old, and pining for his native home, was hard to resist. Mary had known what sorrow was, and had the sympathy which springs from such experience, and, touched by Margaret O'Connor's eloquence and tears, she let the old man go free. And when these two exiles, Fitzgerald and O'Connor, came back to Ireland, there was great rejoicing throughout Munster, for the people had lost all hope that either of them

[17] Morrin, p. 369.
[18] *The Earls of Kildare*, pp. 204-6.
[19] Ware's *Annals*.

would ever return.[20] Two other Irishmen who had long been kept in England also returned at the same time, Fitzpatrick of Ossory and Thomas Butler, the young Earl of Ormond.

What the Irish Council thought of these exiles, or of the policy of allowing them back to Ireland, does not appear. Kildare and Ormond were both sworn of the Privy Council and were too influential to be attacked. Fitzpatrick had been the special friend of Edward VI. and was closely identified with Ormond;[21] but O'Connor was a mere Irishman, and a mere Irishman in their estimation was entitled neither to mercy nor justice. One of the charges made against St. Leger was that he was friendly to the native Irish, and he had to proceed to England (1555) to answer that as well as other charges.[22] His successor, the Earl of Sussex, on the contrary, regarded the natives as enemies, and even Dowdall, the Primate, spoke of them as the wild Irish, told the Queen that they did not answer either writ or bill, and begged that he might be allowed to visit them with the censures of the Church, as this was the only remedy or redress against them.[23] Distrustful of Brian O'Connor, the Council insisted that he should leave his son, Rory, as a hostage for his good behaviour;[24] and the Queen was reminded, a little later, that the O'Mores and O'Connors had cost Henry and Edward the sum of £100,000; that they had, on Mary's accession, attacked the English planters in Leix and Offaly; put man, woman, and child to the sword; razed the castles erected in their midst; and burned everything even to the gates of Dublin.[25]

These accounts had the effect of poisoning the Queen's mind against the native Irish; she became ready to sanction the sternest measures against them; and she directed her Privy Council to convey her thanks to the Deputy (1556), because he had been active against the O'Mores and O'Connors and O'Tooles

[20] *Four Masters.*
[21] Ware's *Annals.*
[22] Hamilton's *Calendar*, p. 133.
[23] *Carew Papers*, Vol. III., Introduction.
[24] Ware's *Annals.*
[25] Hamilton, p. 136.

and had compelled them to submit.[26] At a Parliament held in Dublin, in 1556, it was enacted that Leix and Offaly be replanted and made shire ground,[27] and this was soon done. The greater part of Offaly, with the country of the O'Mulloys and the O'Caharneys, and part of Ely O'Carroll, as well as Delvin, were all joined together into one county named the King's County, with its capital called Philipstown, the name being in honour of Queen Mary's husband. The other new county was the Queen's County, which was formed out of Leix and part of Offaly.[28] The fort at Leix which, in Edward's reign, was called Fort Protector, was made the capital of the new county thus formed, and was named Maryborough.[29] The lands were to be divided between English and Irish, and both were to be subject to English law. Among the Irish, the chief of each sept was to be answerable for a certain number of his people; the freeholders should have their children taught English; they were to cut passes and keep the fords open; they could not marry or foster among themselves, without a special licence in writing from the Deputy, and if they did, they forfeited their estates. The O'Mores were to get all the country beyond the bog, and all around them was planted by English; and Browne and Shute and Girton, and Masterson and Jones, and many others whose names indicate their nationality, were to be settled on lands from which Irishmen were driven, and were to live in peace, side by side with MacShane and O'Dowlyn and O'Fahy, and MacNeill Boy and the O'Mores.[30]

In these arrangements and in the carrying out of them, there was matter for endless turmoil. The lands handed over to English settlers were in the hands of Irishmen; it would be necessary to dispossess them, and they would not leave without a struggle. Between the two races thus planted side by side, there was certain to be antagonism; for the English planter would look down upon the Irishmen around him as belonging to an inferior race, and the

[26] Hamilton's *Calendar*, p. 134.
[27] Cox, *Hibernia Anglicana*, p. 304.
[28] *Book of Rights*, p. 216.
[29] Ware's *Annals*.
[30] Hamilton, pp. 134-5.

Irishman would regard his English neighbour as a plunderer, in possession of lands from which either himself or his kindred had been driven; and thus pride of race on the one hand would be met on the other by the bitter recollection of wrong. A dispute about boundaries, an injury to crops, the trespass of cattle, a jest or sneer, any one of these things would arouse passions which slumbered, but were not dead, and the result would be disorder and crime. The proscription of fosterage and intermarriage among themselves was specially vexatious to the native-born. They would not, in some cases, perhaps, could not, contract alliances with the foreigners in their midst; and they would continue to marry and foster among themselves, and thus, breaking the law, they would be in conflict with the executive government. The provision by which one member of a sept was liable for the acts of another was specially inequitable; it was not to give the English and Irish equal but unequal laws; it was to make the innocent suffer for the guilty. Lastly, the chiefs, so long independent, would chafe under the restraints imposed on them, and resent the inferior position in which they found themselves.

Where there was so much smouldering discontent, it was certain to find an outlet in violence. And troubles soon arose. The O'Connors, Rory and Donogh, came to the Deputy (1556), surrendered all their lands and submitted in all things to the Queen, and the Earls of Kildare and Ormond went security for their good behaviour, yet in defiance of both these Earl's protests, the two O'Connors, as well as O'More of Leix, were thrown into prison, and were not released until both Earls had sent a protest to the Queen.[31] No sooner were they released than the Deputy and Council declared they had broken their promises; both were proclaimed rebels and outlaws and their country laid waste.[32] The O'Carrolls and the O'Mulloys showed some sympathy with the outlawed chiefs, with the result that they also were attacked; and the Deputy, with all the forces he could muster, swept over

[31] *Four Masters.*
[32] Ware's *Annals.*

their territories, as well as over Offaly and Leix, until from the borders of Wicklow to the Shannon, from Slieve Bloom and the Nore to Cliana's wave the land was desolated by plunder and war.[33] Nor was this all. The Kavanaghs rose in rebellion, in 1556; Sussex attacked and defeated them, brought 100 of them prisoners to Dublin, released but 24 of them and had the remaining 76 hanged; and, in the next year, a similar fate befel their chief Murrogh Kavanagh, who was hanged at Leighlinbridge.[34]

As if anxious to accelerate their own ruin, the native chiefs, even those of Leinster and Munster, who had most need for unity, were constantly at war with one another. When Donogh O'Connor was struck down, it was an Irishman, O'Dempsey, who struck the fatal blow. The MacCoghlins quarrelled in Delvin, the O'Farrells in Annally, the O'Maddens in their small principality by the Shannon. The O'Neills of Clannaboy, menaced by the Scots on the one hand, and by the English on the other, instead of uniting, wasted their strength in domestic quarrels, and gave Sussex an opportunity to effectually interfere by dividing the territory, so that two O'Neills ruled in Clannaboy.[35]

More protracted than any of these contests was the long-continued dispute among the O'Briens of Thomond. The first Earl of Thomond died in 1551. His English title was only for life, and his successor as Earl of Thomond was to be his nephew Donogh, whose treachery towards his own countrymen and subserviency to the English, were thus rewarded. At his uncle's death, Donogh assumed the title of Earl of Thomond, and in such favour was he held by the English that the earldom was not to die with himself, but was to be transmitted to his descendants in the male line. But this was to abolish the ancient custom of tanistry in Thomond, it was to regulate the headship of the province by descent and not by popular favour, and was an arrangement to which the O'Briens would not submit. The new Earl's brother, Donal, being selected as tanist, assumed the name and dignity of "The O'Brien." The dispute between them was

[33] *Four Masters*, at 1557.
[34] Ware's *Annals*.
[35] *Four Masters*. *Carew Papers*, Vol. III., Introduction.

referred to the Viceroy, Croft, and settled on the basis of Donogh being recognised as Earl and head of the family by all the O'Briens, Donal on his side getting a grant of land to be held from the Earl by knight's service.[36] At Donogh's death, in 1553, disputes again arose. Ultimately it was agreed by the contending parties, that the matter be left to arbitration; but the arbitration proved abortive and the new Earl, Connor, and Donal went to war. As the contest still continued, the Viceroy, Sussex, at the head of a strong force, entered Thomond (1558), captured the castles of Bunratty and Clonroad, expelled Donal from Thomond and proclaimed him a traitor, and proclaimed Connor anew as the Earl, with full feudal rights over all Thomond. Connor, on his side, swore fealty to the English Queen in the Cathedral of Limerick, and renounced for ever the Dalcassian title of The O'Brien. Yet this did not end the quarrel, into which the Earls of Clanricarde and Desmond were drawn. After Mary's death, the contest was still waged, and in 1559, with the Earls of Thomond and Clanricarde on one side and the Earl of Desmond on the other, a battle was fought near Ennis, at Spanciel Hill.[37]

Towards the close of 1557, Dowdall, the Primate, wrote to the English Privy Council describing the condition of Ireland at that date. It was never, in his remembrance, in a worse condition, except only in the time when O'Neill and O'Donnell invaded the Pale and burned much of it. The North was as far out of frame as ever, and the Scots were as powerful; the O'Mores and O'Connors had destroyed and burnt Leix and Offaly; and he complains that the Deputy, Sussex, and his army had lately burned Armagh.[38] Dowdall does not, however, give a complete list of the disturbed districts. He says nothing of the wars of the O'Carrolls, the O'Mulloys and the MacCoghlins, nor of the hanging of Kavanagh and 76 of his followers; and he makes no mention of Thomond, where the contests of the O'Briens had lasted so long. Finally he might have added that the state of Connaught was not one of repose. The head of the Burkes was an English Earl; but he was

[36] *Carew Papers*, pp. 249-51.
[37] White's *History of Clare*, pp. 180-2.
[38] Hamilton's *Calendar*, p. 140.

little like an English subject, and more like an independent prince, with a formidable body of troops, and making peace and war as he pleased. MacDermott of Moylurg, lifted over the heads of the native chiefs to temporary pre-eminence, was as quarrelsome and restless as ever the O'Connors were. He had Scotch mercenaries in his pay, and at the head of these swept over the province, plundered the MacRannels, burned the Abbey of Boyle, and desolated the land of the O'Kellys.[39]

The policy of conciliation, so long and so successfully pursued by St. Leger, was, after St. Leger's last term of office, completely abandoned in Mary's reign. Experience had taught so keen an observer as Cusack, that nothing was so good with the natives as good order to be observed and kept amongst them.[40] The turbulent chief and a few turbulent retainers, who scorned to work and preferred a life of plunder and war, would, no doubt, submit to any law with reluctance; but the mass of the people were not so disposed; and if the English law protected their lives and properties, they were quite willing to till their fields and herd their flocks in peace. And they would do this even if the law were severe. But it should be administered with impartiality; and if they were to live side by side with those of English descent, as English subjects, they would expect to be bound by the same law in the same measure. And a statesman, such as St. Leger was, would be willing to give the Irish some time to abandon their ancient ways, until they gradually got accustomed to institutions which were new and strange. But these were not the views of Sussex. He despised the Irish as a rude people and an inferior race; he would not take the pains to conciliate them; he would terrorise them into quiescence and establish peace by confiscations and executions and military raids. And the latter differed in no respect from the forays of the most violent native chiefs, except that such raids were done in the Queen's name, and with the assistance of her troops. Yet his success was little. The whole country was more disturbed at the end of Mary's

[39] *Annals of Loch Ce.*
[40] *Carew Papers*, p. 238.

reign than at the beginning, and if the limits of the Pale were enlarged, as they were, over its whole area there was confusion. The English planters had no security of tenure in their newly-acquired lands, and the Irish, driven from the fields they loved and from the homes in which they were born, bided their time and waited patiently for revenge.

CHAPTER III.

The O'Neills of Tyrone.

In making his submission to Henry VIII., Conn O'Neill bound himself to forsake for ever the name of O'Neill, to use the English dress and language, to answer the King's writs, to assist the King's Deputy in his wars. He was not to have more soldiers than was agreed to by the Deputy, nor to aid any of the King's enemies. The lands of Tyrone which he surrendered he got back to be held from the King by knight's service ; his son Matthew was created Baron of Dungannon, and was, on his father's death, to succeed him and to have for himself and his descendants the Earldom of Tyrone.[1] The next year (1543) Conn O'Neill and Manus O'Donnell referred their disputes to the Deputy, and in the award made, Inishowen, which was claimed by O'Neill, was assigned to O'Donnell, who was also freed from all obligation to pay tribute or render allegiance to O'Neill. A little later, similar exemptions were made in favour of Maguire of Fermanagh and O'Neill of Clannaboy.[2]

This loss of prestige and position, this abandonment of ancient rights, was viewed with disfavour by the chieftains of Tyrone, and in such arrangements they were not willing to acquiesce. For Conn O'Neill had not absolute dominion over the lands of Tyrone, but only a life interest. He could not even

[1] *Carew Papers*, pp. 198-9.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 217-19.

transmit them to his own son. He was merely the elected chief of that principality, elected by the Tyrone chiefs, and his successor should be elected by the same body. When asked, therefore to submit to Henry, he ought to have answered, as did O'Brien of Thomond, that he was only one man and should consult the chiefs of his clan; and if they were willing that he should become a vassal of Henry and hold Tyrone from him by knight's service, and at the same time renounce for ever the name of O'Neill, he would not have exceeded his powers, and the chiefs of his own family would have no reason to complain. But he acted without any such consultation, and the provision that the Earldom was to descend to his son Matthew, and that he should be recognised as the head of the O'Neills, was specially unjust. It is doubtful if Matthew was Conn's son at all; it is certain he was not his legitimate son. His mother was one Alyson Kelly, his reputed father was a blacksmith, and only when the blacksmith was dead, did his mother present him to Conn O'Neill as his son.[3] Like his contemporary the Earl of Clanricarde, who had two wives,[4] Conn was not a faithful husband. He had more than one bastard child, and his son declared that he was quite willing to recognise his illegitimate children, and "never refused no child that any woman named to be his." [5]

Such a readiness to acknowledge his offspring and to provide for them did him credit; but it was otherwise when he sought to put his spurious son in the place of honour and power which by right belonged to his legitimate son. Four of these sons are mentioned in the State papers of the time, but the lives and acts of three of them are obscure, and Shane alone was destined to play a leading part in Irish history for years, and to give more trouble to the English government than any Irish chief had yet done. He was but a boy when his father became Earl of Tyrone and Matthew Baron of Dungannon, and was too young to effectually show his resentment. But when he arrived at man's estate, he soon showed a determination that he, and not the son of the

[3] *Carew Papers*, p. 306.
[4] Morrin, pp. 170, 504.
[5] Hamilton's *Calendar*, p. 165.

blacksmith, should inherit the name and power of the O'Neills. In the year 1551, there were disputes between the Earl of Tyrone and his sons, which resulted in the whole district being laid waste.[6] The Baron of Dungannon, who in these disputes had the support of the English, complained of his father, and the Earl was taken to Dublin, and though not imprisoned was kept there, lest he might rebel.[7] His urgent pleas for liberty, addressed to the Duke of Northumberland and to King Edward, were unheeded; he was detained on mere suspicion, nor was he allowed to return home for more than a year, nor until he had given hostages for his good behaviour.[8]

In the meantime Ulster was filled with strife. The combatants were, on one side Shane O'Neill, aided by the O'Neills of Clannaboy and the Scots of Antrim, and on the other, the Baron of Dungannon, aided by the English. The Scots had long been a menace to the peace of Ulster. Descended from the Scots of Ireland, they had extended their sway over all modern Scotland; and in their new home, those who dwelt on the east coast and in the lowlands were contented with their lot. Those who dwelt on the western coast were of a more restless and adventurous disposition. The land they inhabited, from the Mull of Cantire to the Point of Aird in Skye, and westward to the outer Hebrides, was bleak and barren and desolate. The sea rushed into many a creek and raged round many an island, and on island and mainland, crag and rock and deep ravine, and hill and mountain, and roaring torrent, and picturesque lake were abundant. But vegetation was scanty; few places were suited for the production of corn; the people's wealth consisted almost entirely of their flocks and herds; while many who had no flocks and herds were compelled to fish in the neighbouring waters, and expended their time and energies on the sea. Such a life was ill-suited to foster settled or industrious habits, and these island Scots were as daring and adventurous as were the Danes in former days. Like the Irish, they owed allegiance to their chiefs. These chiefs paid homage to the Scotch king and

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 117-18.
[7] Cox, p. 292.
[8] Hamilton's *Calendar*, pp. 122-9.

aided him in his wars, but in other respects they resembled independent princes rather than subjects, and they fought and plundered, and made peace and war, without consultation with their king. Under their chiefs, the MacDonnells of the Isles, these Scots made many descents on the neighbouring Irish coasts. It was calculated, in 1539, that at least 2,000 of them were in Ireland; St. Leger reported (1545), that he feared an invasion from them in force, and before the end of the year the Lord of the Isles did come, and was at Carrickfergus with 4,000 troops; and the English Privy Council specially directed Bellingham to assist the Earl of Tyrone against them.[9] Often they hired themselves out to the Ulster chiefs as mercenaries. But they effected permanent settlements as well, and by the middle of the 16th century, Rathlin Island was their exclusive possession; they had planted the whole line of coast from Carrickfergus to Dunluce; had pushed the MacQuillans beyond the Bann; menaced the very existence of the O'Neills of Clannaboy; and whether in making war themselves, or in aiding the Irish chiefs to make war, they kept Ulster in constant unrest, and the government at Dublin in constant fear.[10]

When Croft was Viceroy, a determined effort was made to crush them. With four ships the English attacked Rathlin Island, but were beaten with the loss of three ships, their commander being taken prisoner. A further attack made on land was also unsuccessful, for though the English were aided by the Baron of Dungannon, the Scots were aided by Shane O'Neill and O'Neill of Clannaboy, and the English and their ally lost heavily in the battle. The English again attacked them in the next year (1552) and placed a garrison in Belfast, but this was the extent of their success, and their ally Dungannon, while hastening to their assistance, was set upon at night by Shane O'Neill and defeated with great slaughter; nor did the Viceroy effect anything by a further incursion into Ulster that same year, except the destruction of some cornfields.[11] Nor was the power or the activity of the

[9] Hamilton's *Calendar*, pp. 70, 72, 99.
[10] Hill Burton's *History of Scotland*, Vol. 6, pp. 295-8.
[11] *Four Masters*, Cox, p. 292.

Scots in any way curtailed. When Calvagh O'Donnell triumphed over his father, his victory was achieved by their aid;[12] they wasted and spoiled Clannaboy; and Sussex declared in a letter to the King and Queen, that the Scots, or Redshanks as he calls them, had been for years permitted to overrun Ulster, and that their leader James MacDonnell had no less than 7,000 under his command.[13] In 1556, Sussex had defeated them at sea and the next year on land. James MacDonnell had prayed for peace and pardon, and that lands should be assigned him, but Queen Mary disapproved of this arrangement, and wished that no Scots should be allowed to settle in Ireland.[14] Instead of pardon or peace there was war, and Sussex, in 1558, attacked them at Rathlin Island and wasted the island, and then pursued them into Scotland and attacked them there.[15] Yet they were not all driven out of Ireland, and that same year a party of them had penetrated into Connaught, and fought with Clanricarde on the banks of the Moy.

More dangerous than the Scots was Shane O'Neill. In revenge for his father's detention at Dublin, he entered Louth (1553) and laid it waste, but the English mustered an army and defeated him near Dundalk; the next year he was at war with O'Neill of Clannaboy.[16] In 1556, he came to Dublin and submitted to the Deputy, receiving a pardon for any offences he had committed.[17] But these good relations did not last, and the next year Sussex went to Dundalk, and entering Shane's territory, encamped at Armagh. Shane retreated, but hovered near the English and annoyed them; nor did Sussex accomplish anything except to plunder and burn Armagh, and then he returned to Dublin.[18] The same year, Shane led a formidable expedition against Tyrconnell. He had evidently made up his mind to become master of Ulster, and to do this it was necessary to crush the O'Donnells.

[12] Ware's *Annals.*
[13] Hamilton's *Calendar*, p. 136.
[14] Morrin, p. 361.
[15] Ware's *Annals.*
[16] *Ibid.*
[17] Morrin, p. 366.
[18] *Carew Papers* p. 268.

The forces at his disposal were considerable, for besides his own people of Tyrone, all the native chiefs from Dundalk to Lough Foyle were with him; he had some English also and many Scots. At the head of these troops he crossed the Mourne and Finn, turned northwards through Raphoe, and encamped at Balleghan on the eastern shores of Lough Swilly. Confident in his strength, when he was told that O'Donnell had sent off all his cattle and sheep into the fastnesses of the country, to avoid being captured, Shane declared that not one cow of them was beyond his reach, and that he would pursue and capture them if they fled even into Leinster or Munster; that Tyrconnell should submit to him, and that, for the future, there should be but one king in Ulster.

Calvagh O'Donnell was in sore straits, nor did he deserve much sympathy. Impatient to be chief of Tyrconnell, he had deposed his father Manus and thrown him into prison, where he had already remained for two years. With his brother Hugh he had also quarrelled, and Hugh, indignant at his father's treatment and his own, had gone over to Shane O'Neill and was then in O'Neill's camp. All that Calvagh could rely on was his own clansmen of Tyrconnell, and these were utterly insufficient to meet O'Neill in battle. Calvagh took counsel with his father, Manus, whom he had so outraged and ill-treated, and the old man's advice was to avoid meeting the invader in the open, but to watch when he was in camp and unsuspecting, and then to secretly attack. With a small force, Calvagh hovered some distance from O'Neill's camp, near enough to attack if an opportunity arose, but far enough to be out of sight. At night two of his men went as spies into the enemy's camp. Escaping recognition, they mixed with the soldiers, partook of the meal and butter served out, took note of the position and arms of the different forces, and at the entrance to Shane's own tent they saw by the light of burning torches, that guard was kept by 60 gallowglasses armed with battle-axes, and 60 Scots with heavy striking swords in their hands. It was clear that the number and strength of Shane's forces was considerable, and equally clear that they were off their guard. The two spies returned to O'Donnell, preparations were at once made for attack, and while O'Neill's soldiers laughed and joked,

and told tales round the burning torches, the enemy stealthily entered the camp. The surprise and victory were complete. O'Donnell's men knew where to strike with effect; the enemy, many of whom had laid their arms aside, could make no resistance, and were easily cut down. But few of them escaped, among them being Shane O'Neill himself. He passed out of his tent at one side, while the enemy entered at the other. The night was dark; the rain fell heavily; the rivers were swollen and dangerous to cross; and he had no horse, and was accompanied only by two of his followers. Fearing to meet an enemy, they had to travel by unfrequented paths, had to swim the rivers Deal and Finn, and finally, after many hardships, they arrived safely in Tyrone. Arms, dresses, coats of mail, and Shane's famous horse, named "the Son of the Eagle," fell into the enemy's hands.[19]

Such a crushing disaster would have broken the spirit of most men, but Shane's spirit was still unbroken, and he postponed, but did not abandon, his attack on Tyrconnell. One enemy was soon removed from his path, for in some obscure quarrel between Shane's people and the Baron of Dungannon, the Baron was killed. The next year (1559) old Conn, Earl of Tyrone, died. These deaths strengthened the position of Shane, and of all the Irish chiefs he was now the most powerful, and the most feared by the Queen and her ministers. Their ideal state for Ulster would be a population, if not of English birth, at least English in habits and dress and language, Protestant in religion, and loyal to the English crown. Failing this, they would have wished to see all the chiefs quarrelling, so that by thus weakening their forces their final conquest would be rendered easier. The last thing they wished was to have all Ulster in the hands of one chief, under whose rule the Irish language was exclusively spoken, the Irish dress worn, the minstrel and bard still flourishing, the Catholic bishop and priest still exercising their functions, and the monasteries still maintained. It was necessary that Shane should be pulled down, or perhaps all Ireland, as well as all Ulster, might slip from their grasp. The Queen's own position on the throne was not

[19] *Four Masters.*

secure; her government was weak; to send a large army to crush O'Neill was not possible, but Sir Henry Sidney, who was Deputy for Sussex, went to Dundalk to defend the Pale against a possible attack. Shane O'Neill was then near Dundalk, and Sidney invited him to come and have a talk with him over the matters in dispute. The Irishman was wary and distrustful of his antagonist; he thought treachery was intended; and he replied by inviting Sidney to meet him and stand sponsor for his child. It seemed to the Deputy "dishonourable that he should be gossip to a rebel before submission, yet the necessity of the Queen's affairs required it, and therefore he consented, and on the last day of January, he and James Wingfield christened the child." In answer to the charge of rebellion preferred against him, Shane reminded Sidney that Matthew O'Neill was a bastard; that Conn O'Neill's surrender of Tyrone was void, as he had only a life interest in the principality; that, even by English law, the letters patent by which he received his earldom were void, as there was no previous inquisition, nor could there be until Tyrone was made shire ground. Sidney acknowledged there was much matter for consideration in these arguments, promised to lay the question at once before the Queen, who would act justly, and advised Shane to await patiently the Queen's decision; an advice which was taken in a friendly spirit and acted upon. Nor was the Queen less impressed than Sidney, and after going into the question, she declared that the Earl of Tyrone should be succeeded by his eldest legitimate son John, and not by his bastard son Matthew, and this especially for two reasons; first, because he was the eldest legitimate son, and secondly, because he was in quiet possession of all that his father had, so that justice, as well as expediency, would suggest that the Deputy should allow him to succeed his father.[20]

In less than a year, the Queen had changed her mind. Her minister Cecil, in a series of questions "to be considered against Shane O'Neill," had debated the points raised. And he proved, to his own satisfaction at least, that Henry VIII., being King of Ireland and Earl of Ulster, and inheriting from Henry II., who had

[20] Richey, pp. 282-6.

conquered all Ireland, had supreme dominion over the province, and could give the lands of Tyrone to whomsoever he pleased; that though Conn O'Neill had but a life interest in these lands, he had rebelled, and had been joined by the people, and thus his rights, and the rights of the people, were forfeited to the crown. From which it followed that Henry was justified in making Matthew Conn's heir. And he disposed of the objection that there was no previous inquisition, by answering that this form was required only when the land was ruled by such officers as escheators and sheriffs, and none such existed in Tyrone. This reasoning was neither plausible nor convincing; for Henry II. never did conquer Ulster, and never got any submission from its chiefs, and the Earldom of Ulster, which Henry VIII inherited, was but an empty name, as the lands of Ulster were for ages in the hands of the O'Neills. Yet this reasoning was enough for Cecil, and it afforded a pretext for the Queen to change her mind;[21] and early in the next year (1560), she directed Sussex to compel Shane O'Neill to be an obedient subject; and she declared that the young Baron of Dungannon (Brian, Son of Matthew), was the heir in right, and was to be restored to those lands of which Shane had dispossessed him.

To crush Shane the utmost efforts of the government were put forth. O'Reilly and O'Donnell were to be made earls, and thus were induced to lend their aid; O'Donnell's wife was to receive presents from the Queen; Sorley Boy MacDonnell and the Scots were persuaded to join; and Maguire and Magennis, though they could not be induced to attack Shane, were induced to desert him. The Queen herself wrote to the Irish nobles asking their assistance against the common enemy; and even to such small chiefs as O'Madden and O'Shaughnessy she made a personal appeal. Knowing that he was powerless against such a formidable combination, Shane informed Sussex that he wished to have a personal interview with the Queen; his request was forwarded to England, and Elizabeth wrote to him to send her an accredited agent "fully instructed in his petitions."[22] By his messenger, Shane sent the

[21] Richey, p. 286.
[22] Hamilton's *Calendar*, pp. 161, 171, 164.

Queen an account of his grievances. He repeated that Matthew, Baron of Dungannon, was illegitimate, and therefore, ought to have no rights of inheritance in Tyrone; he told the Queen that he himself was in the usual way elected to succeed his father; that he had kept the country under his rule quiet, and that his prosperous government had caused the waste places to be inhabited; he asked the Queen to get him an English gentlewoman for his wife. At the same time, he promised Cecil that, if he were taken into favour, and recognised in his position, instead of the heavy charges Her Majesty was now under, he would within three years have a revenue paid to her out of Ulster.[23] Shane's letters at this period to the Council at Dublin, and to the Queen, were many; his wish to go to London was often expressed, but his actual going was as often postponed. Wary and distrustful, and fearful of treachery, he sought for guarantees which were not given; and so little did either side in these negotiations believe in the sincerity of the other, that on both sides preparations for war were continued.

Shane had no intention of waiting until the plans of the government had matured. Already, in 1560, he had hired 1500 Scots, and he had written to the Earl of Argyle asking his sister in marriage, and proposing an alliance with him for mutual defence.[24] Early in the next year he invaded the Pale itself, and the following May he attacked and defeated O'Reilly. Nor was this all. The O'Donnell brothers, Calvagh and Caffir, were quarrelling. Caffir had taken refuge in a Cranogue in Lough Gartin, and Calvagh had ordered his son Conn to besiege him there; and while Conn was absent on this expedition, Calvagh and his wife were spending the time at the monastery of Kilodonnell, on the western shore of Lough Swilly. Of his place of residence and his unprotected condition, information was brought to Shane, and, hastily getting together some forces, he surrounded the monastery and carried off O'Donnell and his wife. O'Donnell he threw into prison and swore he would keep him there. His wife, who was the daughter of MacLean of Scotland, he induced to forget her husband, and her vows, and for many years she and Shane lived together as man

[23] Hamilton's *Calendar*, p. 165.
[24] Bagwell, Vol II., p. 11.

and wife, and had children born to them. The conduct of both was specially reprehensible, for Shane was already a married man, and his wife was, moreover, a daughter of Calvagh O'Donnell by a former marriage. The *Four Masters* add that she died of horror, loathing, grief and anguish, because of the treatment her father had received from her husband, and still more at his conduct in co-habiting with her step-mother.

The moral character of Queen Elizabeth was certainly not above reproach, and neither she nor her ministers concerned themselves with Shane O'Neill's moral delinquencies. But there were political issues at stake; for both O'Reilly and O'Donnell were in alliance with the Queen's Government, and whoever attacked them became the Queen's enemy. In retaliation, the Viceroy entered Armagh, and left a garrison there. Against thus placing English troops in his territory Shane O'Neill protested. He was publicly denounced as a traitor and a rebel, and Sussex, with all his forces, attacked him near Armagh. The result was disastrous for the English. "Never before," said Sussex, "durst Scot or Irishman look an Englishman in the face in plain or wood, and now Shane, in a plain three miles away from any wood, hath with 120 horse, and a few Scots and gallowglasses, scarce half in numbers, charged our whole army, and by the cowardice of one wretch (Wingfield) was like, in one hour, to have left not one man of that army alive, and after to have taken me and the rest at Armagh." [25] A further effort made by Sussex in the next year, resulted in nothing except the capture of some cattle from Shane, who on his side effectually retorted by entering the Pale and wasting it.[26] It was evident that the Viceroy's army was not an effective fighting force, nor was Shane to be so easily crushed. Irritated at his failure, and despairing of his success by fair or open means, Sussex bargained with one of Shane's servants, Neal Grey, to assassinate him; but the plot miscarried. The Viceroy openly avowed to the Queen what he had tried to do, nor did he receive any reprimand.[27]

It seems strange that Shane O'Neill still wished to go to England,

[25] Richey, p. 291.
[26] Hamilton's *Calendar*, p. 180.
[27] *Ibid.*, p. 179.

especially after hearing of Neal Grey's intended treachery. But he was chary of having any dealings with the Viceroy, not thinking it safe to trust himself to a man who had stooped to be an assassin. In the Earl of Kildare, however, he had confidence, and was ready to trust him; and by the Queen's special command the Earl, who was then in England, was sent to Ireland, and after a time, he was able to induce the Northern Chief to cross the sea. In his absence, Turlogh Lynnagh O'Neill was to be in charge of Tyrone; the English troops were to be removed from Armagh; no attack was to be made on his territory by the English, neither were they to maintain any of his tributary chiefs against him or his representative; his personal safety was guaranteed going to England and coming back; and on these conditions Shane made peace with Kildare in the last days of the year 1561. On the 6th of January following, he made his submission in person to the Queen, in the presence of the ambassadors of the King of Sweden and the Duke of Savoy, and of the high officials of the Court.[28] The courtiers marvelled at the appearance of himself and his gallowglasses, their hair worn long after the manner of their country, and their whole appearance creating as much surprise as if they had been Chinese or Americans.[29] Shane comported himself with great dignity, and noting his haughty bearing, one of the courtiers described him as "O'Neill the Great, cousin of St. Patrick, friend to the Queen of England, enemy to all the world besides."[30]

In making his journey to England, Shane O'Neill was moved, partly by curiosity to see the country and its sovereign, but much more to secure favourable terms for himself, and to safeguard his position in Ulster. He expected that the Queen did not know or approve of the treachery of the Irish officials towards himself; he felt that he had a good case; that it was highly unjust to dispossess him of the territory of his ancestors, and to hand it over, against the wishes of the people and chiefs, to a bastard, or a bastard's son. He was wary, supple, adroit; the personal attractions

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 184.
[29] Camden's *Annals.*
[30] Campion's *History.*

which seduced from her duty, and her vows, Calvagh O'Donnell's wife must have been considerable, and they might, he thought, have some potency with the Queen. But he little knew Queen Elizabeth, and had yet to learn that, if she had inherited the strong will, the instinct and spirit to command, which characterised her father, she had also inherited his bad qualities. Cold, cruel, callous to suffering, without kindness, or sympathy, or pity, without gratitude to a friend, or mercy to a foe, she was a strange compound of vice and virtue, in whom it was impossible to discover those qualities, which are the strength, and weakness, and charm of woman. Naturally suspicious and distrustful, the necessities of her position, the insecure tenure by which she held the throne, had the effect of emphasising these natural defects. She was sparing of the truth, loved equivocation and duplicity, cleverly played off one enemy against the other, and in negotiation was never open, or frank, or candid, or sincere.

The assurances given to Shane were soon violated, and the bad faith of his opponents appeared. The English soldiers were taken away from Armagh, but were at once replaced by others; the young Earl of Tyrone was maintained against him, and both he and the Scots invaded Shane's territory, and when Shane complained to the English Council, he was given no satisfaction. The young Earl was commanded to repair to England, but the order was privately countermanded, so that a pretext might be furnished for keeping Shane in London; and when Shane expressed a wish to return home, he was reminded that he was guaranteed a safe-conduct to England and back, but that the time of his return was not specified. The object of this quibbling and evasion he soon understood; and it seemed as if he was in his enemies' hands, and had no means of escape. But he was a man of resource. He had studied the Queen's character, and saw that, if she was inaccessible to pity, she was not inaccessible to flattery, and loved to assume virtues which she did not possess. And Shane flattered her, declared that, in his dealings with the Council, she was his only resource, asked her advice as to what he should do, asked her permission to attend her favourite, Lord Robert Dudley, so that he might learn to ride after the English fashion, and begged that

she should kindly select some English gentlewoman for his wife.[31]

This appeal was not without effect; but, in addition, in a foray into Tyrone, the young Earl had been killed by Turlogh Lynnagh;[32] and if Shane were detained in England, Turlogh would at once be proclaimed "The O'Neill," and might be as dangerous an antagonist as Shane; and the detention of the latter would prove the treachery of the Queen's government, and drive the native chiefs to Turlogh's side. It seemed, then, the lesser of two evils to keep faith with Shane, and allow him to return to Ireland. Before going, however, he was compelled to sign an agreement by which he was to be an obedient subject of the Queen, and in return was recognised as chief in Tyrone, but only until the matters in dispute with the Earl of Tyrone were settled. He was to reduce to obedience the Scots, the O'Neills of Clannaboy, the MacQuillans, and the O'Cahans, and to see that these chiefs took the Oath of Allegiance to the Queen. He was to aid the Deputy in his wars, and to permit the Queen's garrison to remain at Armagh. He was to levy no tribute, or take pledges outside Tyrone, nor to have in Tyrone itself any mercenary troops, and he was to leave all matters of dispute with Maguire and O'Donnell to a court of arbitration, of which the Earls of Kildare, Ormond, Thomond, and Clanricarde, were members; and all other controversies he was to refer to the Council at Dublin.[33] When he had subscribed to these conditions, the Queen issued a proclamation that his submission was accepted, that he was in future to be reputed "a good natural subject";[34] and Shane (in May, 1562) returned to Ireland, passed through Dublin, where he was careful not to delay, and safely reached his own territory of Tyrone.[35]

Shane, however, had no intention of observing the terms of the agreement which he had signed. Neither the Queen nor her ministers had dealt fairly with him. They had imposed conditions which

[31] Richey, p. 295.
[32] Hamilton's *Calendar*, p. 191.
[33] *Carew Papers*, pp. 312-14.
[34] Hamilton's *Calendar*, p. 194.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 195.

necessity alone made him accept—he had no other alternative, no other means of escape—but such an agreement, entered into under compulsion, had no binding force; and in Ireland he proceeded to act as if it had no existence. He plundered Maguire, continued to employ the Scots, and overran Tyrconnell.[36] Sussex advanced to Dundalk, and invited him to an interview, guaranteeing his safety, although he privately informed the Queen that he meant to put Shane under arrest, and for that purpose had designedly worded the letter of safe-conduct in ambiguous terms. Taught by experience, the Irish chief was not to be caught, and declined the interview; nor did he respond to a more artful invitation of Sussex, whose sister Shane had asked in marriage. The lady was brought over from England, and the Viceroy sent a letter to Shane to come and see her, and that, if she liked him, they should have his good will. The offer was tempting, but again Shane was too wary. He was informed "out of the English Pale," that the sister of Sussex was brought over to trap him; and, when his former experiences are remembered, he should have had no difficulty in believing that this was no idle tale.[37]

In the meantime he was not idle. He attacked O'Donnell and O'Reilly, burned Maguire's corn and houses, killed 300 of his people, took beeves from the garrison at Armagh, and terrorised into submission every chief from Clannaboy to Tyrconnell.[38] Determined to crush the audacious chief, Sussex joined hands with O'Donnell, O'Reilly and Maguire; he even induced Turlogh Lynnagh to turn against Shane; sought help from the Earls of Kildare, Ormond, Thomond and Clanricarde; and made a levy of two months provisions for the army on the inhabitants of the Pale.[39] But he accomplished little. He was unable to co-operate effectually with the Ulster chiefs; the inhabitants of the Pale cried out against supplying the necessary provisions, and protested that they had not been paid for such provisions for three years. For an equal length of time the soldiers' pay was in

[36] *Ibid.*, pp. 200-202.
[37] Froude's *History of England*, Vol. VII., p. 144.
[38] Hamilton's *Calendar*, pp. 207-8.
[39] *Ibid.*, 212.

arrear, and in consequence they were ready to mutiny; the nobility did not give the help expected or promised; some of the soldiers were sick; and with such an army, ill-provisioned, unpaid, mutinous, and sickly, all he could do was to enter Tyrone and drive away some cattle.[40] Again negotiations were opened, and, in September, 1563, peace was signed. Shane was confirmed in the title of The O'Neill, until the Queen decorated him by another honourable name; he was to have all jurisdiction and pre-eminence which his predecessors had enjoyed; his right to levy tribute from the subordinate chiefs was recognised; the peace he had concluded with O'Donnell approved; his disputes with O'Reilly and Maguire were to be settled by arbitration, the arbitrators to be appointed by the disputants themselves, and without any interference from the Viceroy or Council. Shane was excused from coming personally to Dublin, but could transact his business through an agent; after a short interval the garrison was to be withdrawn from Armagh; and, finally, this agreement annulled all preceding ones.[41] The Viceroy, in answer to one of Shane's letters, was unusually amiable, and rejoiced that the war was ended, and that their former friendship was renewed.

That the war was ended ought to have been for both sides a relief. On the English Exchequer it had been an exhausting drain; it had brought England no honour or glory, and in the midst of foreign complications, it ill-suited the Queen to have such a war on her hands. Nor did it suit Shane. The chiefs around him were cowed, but not crushed, and a confederacy might at any time be formed, which would be a menace to his supremacy. The Scots might withdraw their support; a Viceroy might come, abler than Sussex, and who would lay his plans better; and one crushing victory would bring the whole edifice which Shane had built tumbling about his ears. And, besides, he had got all he was contending for. His power in Ulster was unquestioned. He was supreme under the rule of the Queen, and, on these conditions, he was quite content to be her loyal subject. In these circumstances,

[40] *Ibid*, pp. 216-18.
[41] *Carew Papers*, pp. 352-4.

both the Queen's government and Shane seemed to be satisfied. Ancient feuds were forgotten, ancient enmity laid aside; and to show that no bitterness existed between them, and that he wished the friendship to be enduring, Sussex sent Shane a present of wine. And he sent it through John Smith, with whom Shane was on friendly terms.[42] The wine was received with gratitude, and consumed, a little later, by the Ulster Chief and a number of his guests, but it nearly proved a fatal draught, for the wine had been poisoned in Dublin, and the object of sending it was that Shane might be thus removed. He complained to the Queen of this new treachery; Smith was thrown into prison, and the Queen spoke of his awful crime. But he was quite safe, and was soon after set at liberty, and it may be assumed with certainty that the regret of the Queen, as well as of Sussex, was that the poison had failed to do its work.[43]

Shane seemed to be appeased and to forget. He corresponded with Sussex, and again solicited his sister in marriage; he wrote to the Queen, professing his loyalty, and his gratitude to her for having pardoned all his offences, and desired that she might make him an Earl. But these professions of loyalty and affection were on the surface; in his heart there was bitterness, and he hated the English and all their ways. On the shores of Lough Neagh he built a castle which he called "Fuath-na-Gaill," or Hatred of the English; he prohibited anyone in his presence speaking the English language, and he summarily hanged a man whom he had seen eating an English biscuit.[44] Those chiefs who had sided with England he drove from their territories; and O'Donnell complained that in these wars 4,500 of his people had perished.[45] In the meantime Shane also attacked the Scots, and at Glenflesk in Antrim defeated them with the loss of 700 men. To this latter war he had been advised by Lord Robert Dudley, who told him that such an exploit would purchase him the Queen's favour; and he was

[42] Hamilton's *Calendar*, p. 209.
[43] Hamilton's *Calendar*, p. 233. Froude's *History of England*, Vol. VII., pp. 156-8.
[44] Campion.
[45] Hamilton's *Calendar*, p. 247.

specially thanked by the English Privy Council. He was not, however, thanked, but rather censured, when he attacked Dundalk, and captured Newry from Bagenal, and Dundrum from the Earl of Kildare, nor when he wasted Clannaboy and the Glynnes of Antrim, and the country of the MacQuillans.[46] He was also severely reprehended when, not satisfied with being master of Ulster, he entered Connaught, attacked the Earl of Clanricarde, and demanded the tribute which was formerly paid to the Irish Kings.[47] Nor was his government one of disorder in Ulster. On the contrary, the Brehon Law was executed with vigour; whoever robbed or spoiled was compelled to make speedy restitution when his guilt was proved; the land which disorder and turmoil had caused to remain untilled became cultivated and inhabited; and such was the security within Shane's territory, that many left the Pale to live under his rule. Nor was he without some sparks of grace. As he sat at table, before he tasted a morsel, "he used to slice a portion above the daily alms, and send it to some beggar at his gate, saying it was meet to serve Christ first."[48]

Towards the close of 1565, Sir Henry Sidney came to Ireland as Deputy, and his first care was with Shane, who was rapidly passing beyond the position of a subject. Sidney wrote asking him to Dundalk to an interview, but Shane declined, giving in detail the reasons why he refused. He recalled how his father had been treated; how faith had not been kept with himself; how an assassin had been hired to stab him with a dagger, and, when this failed, how he had been sent poisoned wine. For these reasons his people and himself were mistrustful.[49] A few months later, in 1566, the Deputy sent two Commissioners, who had a personal interview with him. He was no longer ambitious to be an earl; he was, he told them, better than the best of them; he sneered at MacCarthy, who had lately been made Earl of Clancarty, telling them that he kept as good a man as his servant; he had never made peace with the Queen, but it was of her seeking, and not his; his ancestors

[46] *Ibid.*, p. 261.
[47] *Ibid.*, p. 276.
[48] Campion.
[49] *Carew Papers*, p. 366, Richey, p. 309.

CHARGE OF ENGLISH CAVALRY

FROM THE IMAGE OF IRELANDE, BY JOHN DERRICKE

were Kings of Ulster, and Ulster was his; by the sword he had won it, and by the sword he would keep it.[50] Further negotiations were seen to be useless, and Sidney immediately resolved on war.

His measures were much more effective than the aimless and desultory activity of Sussex. The chiefs whom Shane had expelled from their territories he restored to them, and encouraged to attack him—O'Donnell in the north, and O'Reilly and Maguire, also the Scots from the east—while the whole forces of the Pale were to be mustered under Sidney, and to attack him from the south. Shane's position was critical. Instead of conciliating the native chiefs, he had harassed and crushed them; the Scots he had mortally offended; and whithersoever he turned he was confronted with enemies. In his distress he had sought to give the war the character of a religious struggle, and to pose as the champion of the ancient faith; and in that capacity he had appealed to the Earl of Desmond, to the King of France, and to the Cardinal of Lorraine. These appeals were fruitless, and he had to rely only on his own clansmen of Tyrone. But they at least did not fail him, nor was he a man to yield without a struggle; and when O'Donnell attacked him, he quickly retaliated by entering Tyrconnell. The battle was fought (1567) on the shores of Lough Swilly, and ended in the ruinous defeat of Shane, whose losses are put as high as 3,000. So overwhelming was this disaster, that it was said Shane was temporarily bereft of reason. He had thought of going to the Deputy with a halter round his neck, and thus craving mercy, but his friends dissuaded him, and advised instead that he should seek aid from the Scots. He liberated their leader, Sorley Boy MacDonnell, whom he had imprisoned; and, when Shane with his mistress and a few followers visited the Scots, they were received with apparent cordiality. But the defeat of two years before was not forgotten; the recollection of it was still bitter; reproaches and insults were flung at him; a brawl arose; and the Scots fell upon him and murdered him. His body, hacked to pieces, was wrapped in an old shirt, and thrown into a pit. It was afterwards dug up by one Captain Piers, and the head cut off and brought to Dublin, where it

[50] Richey, p. 308.

was " boded with a stake and standeth on the top of Your Majesty's castle." [51] Captain Piers was paid the reward of 1,000 marks which had been offered for Shane's head, and the government at Dublin rejoiced. The strongest Irishman in Ireland was no more; the most resolute opponent of England had disappeared; and this had been effected by the Scots, the enemies of England, and by the Irish themselves, and without the Deputy having to strike a single blow.[52]

[51] *Ibid.*, p. 311.

[52] Froude's *History of England*, Vol. VII., pp. 575-80. Camden's *Annals*, at the year 1567. O'Sullivan's *Catholic History*, (Byrne's Translation, pp. 3-4).

IRELAND

ABOUT 1570.

The red lines indicate the extent of Desmond influence, the blue lines that of the Ormonde family.

CHAPTER IV.

Rebellion and Attempted Plantation.

IN the year 1558, James Earl of Desmond died, and the *Four Masters* lament his loss by saying that it was woful to his country, and that in his time there was no need to watch cattle or close doors over the wide extent of territory which he ruled. His family, long settled in Munster, had prospered and grown great. The descendants of the Cogans and FitzStephens had decayed; the minor chiefs had been overborne; the MacCarthys were still strong, but had dwindled into insignificance since the time when they were Kings of South Munster, and now they were compelled to pay a yearly tribute to the Earl of Desmond, called "Earl's Beeves." Scattered over Munster, especially in Kerry and Limerick and Cork, were various families of the Fitzgeralds, who claimed their descent from the same source as the Earl himself, and who recognised him as their chief; the Barrets, and Barrys, and Roches were compelled to give similar recognition; and except the district subject to the Earl of Ormond, and Cork, and Waterford, which were immediately subject to England, all Munster belonged to Desmond, from the west of Kerry to the east coast of Waterford.[1] Nominally he was a subject of England, but as yet English law was not allowed in his territory, and from the vast possessions he held it does not appear that any revenue was paid to the English Queen.

The rights and privileges of the Earldom descended, on the death of James, to his son Garrett, who thus became Earl of Desmond. His neighbours beyond the Shannon, the O'Briens,

[1] *Four Masters.*

were quarrelling among themselves, and from them he had nothing to fear. Neither were his rights and privileges questioned by the chiefs and nobles of South and West Munster; and except two minor attacks upon the MacCarthys, one upon MacCarthy of Carbry by some of the Fitzgeralds (1560), and the other on MacCarthy of Muskerry (1564), by Maurice Fitzgerald, each of which proved disastrous for the assailants, for many years the peace of that portion of Munster was unbroken. A more formidable foe was the Earl of Ormond. Like his neighbour of Desmond, he was also a Palatine lord, with his own army, and his own ministers, and in everything but in name, less like a subject than an independent prince. The family had been careful to keep on good terms with the English monarchs, and were more under English influence, and looked more to England for inspiration, than any of the great Anglo-Irish lords; and outside of Dublin, there was no town in which English customs prevailed more than in their capital of Kilkenny. The Desmonds were little susceptible to English influences. As the ages passed they had become more like Irish chiefs, and in the districts under their sway, it was Irish customs rather than English that prevailed. The consequence was that, while the Geraldines were very dear to the native Irish—and Desmond especially commanded the passionate attachment of those among whom he lived—the Butlers, on the contrary, were less popular with the natives, but could count on being trusted by the English monarchs, and on receiving favours at their hands. And recently their power and influence had been much augmented from this source. The readiness with which Piers, Earl of Ormond, had resigned his Earldom in favour of Sir Thomas Boleyn, the eagerness with which he followed Henry's example in his change of faith, the vigour with which he renounced the spiritual supremacy of the Pope, the zeal with which both himself and his son had combated Silken Thomas, had won for both father and son the enthusiastic approbation of the King. Nor was he slow to reward them, or niggardly in what he gave. To Piers, and his heirs male, he gave five manors and castles in Kilkenny, and two in Tipperary, and to Piers and James, as a special reward for their services against Silken Thomas, he gave six "manors, castles and towns" in Kil-

kenny, and many others in Tipperary, Carlow, Kildare, Dublin, and Meath, the Great Island in the County of Wexford, and the Little Island in the County of Waterford.[2] The son and successor of James was Thomas, who was but a boy at his father's death, in 1546. As his father had adopted the King's religion, the young man was careful to profess the Catholic religion under the Catholic Queen Mary, and by his services against Wyatt in England, and against the Scots in Ireland, he received as his reward the lands and possessions of Athassel in Tipperary, of Jerpoint and Callan in Kilkenny, and the late houses of Friars at Thurles and Carrick, and the lands of some other suppressed houses in Kildare and Carlow. By Elizabeth he was held in still greater esteem. She recognised him as her relative, sometimes playfully called him her "Black Husband," and in the first year of her reign appointed him Lord Treasurer of Ireland.[3]

It was this nobleman, high in the royal favour, who was the ruling Earl of Ormond, when Garrett Fitzgerald became Earl of Desmond. The two nobles were nearly related, for the wife of Desmond was dowager Countess of Ormond, and it might be supposed that this tie would bind them together in peace.[4] But against this there were many disturbing influences, many causes from which quarrels might arise—longstanding jealousies, conflicting interests of their subjects, disputes about privileges or rights, or about boundaries. And such a quarrel did arise in 1560. Both Earls laid claim to lands on the banks of the river Suir, and as negotiation was unavailing, both sides had recourse to arms. The place of combat was decided on, and from all parts of Munster the followers of these two Earls hastened to the appointed place at Bohermore, between Cashel and Tipperary.[4] But, though the two armies stood facing each other, there was no battle. The Great God, says the *Four Masters*, sent the Angel of Peace; they gave themselves time for reflection, and parted without striking a single blow. But these peaceful dispositions did not last, and though both Earls helped Sussex in his attack on Shane O'Neill

[2] Carte's *Life of the Duke of Ormond*, Vol. I., Introduction.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 53.
[4] *Four Masters.*

(1561) they had no sooner returned to their own territories than their quarrels were renewed. Desmond complained to the Viceroy that, on his return from serving the Queen, Ormond lay in wait to attack him, and the Irish Council in letters to the English Council, and to the Queen, emphasized the necessity of calling both Earls to England, and of insisting that they should cease their contests.[5] The following year (1562), Ormond complained that Desmond had burned a town, that he had fallen out with all the lords and gentlemen of the west, that he was quarrelling with his uncle, that some of his men had robbed and waylaid one of Ormond's own servants, and that he refused to surrender some pirates he had captured.[6]

To inquire into these charges and countercharges, the Queen summoned both Earls to London. Knowing the Queen's partiality for him, Ormond readily obeyed the summons, but Desmond was distrustful of receiving fair-play, and delayed for some time. And it soon appeared that he had reason for his distrust. Ormond's answers to the charges were considered ample, and he was allowed immediately to return home, with all his privileges granted to him anew. The treatment of Desmond was very different. He acknowledged his many faults, made humble submission, promised to be a faithful subject to the Queen, to be answerable to the laws, to attend the Queen's parliaments.[7] He was pardoned all the "murders, manslaughters, and felonies" he had committed, and a soothing letter was sent by the Queen to his Countess; but he was still kept in London; and to all his appeals for liberty to go home, to Cecil, to Sir Thomas Cusack, to the Council, to the Queen herself, a deaf ear was turned.[8] He made all sorts of promises; he was ready to enter into any engagement; he protested that his country in Ireland was in disorder because of his absence; that the English climate disagreed with him; that he was brought very low by sickness; that his money was spent. Yet he was still detained in London, nor was it till the closing days of 1563 that he was allowed to return home.

[5] Hamilton's *Calendar*, pp. 181-2.
[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 185-6, 190.
[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 197, 198-9.
[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 204, 219.

When leaving London he was commanded by the Queen to remain at Dublin until Cusack should examine into the further complaints made by Ormond; and he was specially admonished that, in any future disputes, the Queen herself was to be the umpire; that only her sword was to be drawn; and that its sharpened edge would fall upon the guilty.[9] This warning was unheeded, and when Desmond felt aggrieved by Ormond, he gathered together his force and attacked him. Ormond complained to Cecil that the subjects under his rule were daily despoiled by the Earl of Desmond, and he asked that the Deputy should curb the spoiler, and see that the spoils were restored.[10] A further encounter between the Earls ended disastrously for Desmond. He demanded his rents from Sir Maurice Fitzgerald, who replied that he owed none, as he held his lands direct from the Queen, and as Desmond threatened force, Fitzgerald asked and obtained the assistance of the Earl of Ormond. The rival Earls met at Affane near Cappoquin (1565), where Desmond was defeated with the loss of 300 of his followers. Himself received a gunshot wound, and was taken prisoner; and as he was carried off by Ormond's followers, his enemies tauntingly asked him, "Where now is the great Earl of Desmond," ? to which he quickly retorted: "Where but on the necks of the Butlers."[11] Taken to Clonmel, he remained there until his wounds were healed, and then, the Queen, highly incensed against both Earls, summoned them to London, so that their disputes might be investigated anew. And Sir Maurice Fitzgerald, MacCarthy More and O'Sullivan were summoned over to give evidence.[12]

It was well known that time had not lessened the Queen's partiality for Ormond, nor her distrust and suspicion of Desmond. Whomsoever she suspected was safe to attack, and so the enemies and false friends of Desmond were encouraged, and their charges against him fell thick and fast. Sir Maurice Fitzgerald complained that the Earl had wasted his land of Decies with fire and sword,

[9] Hamilton's *Calendar*, p. 229.
[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 248-9.
[11] *Four Masters.* Meehan's *Geraldines*, p. 64.
[12] Hamilton's *Calendar*, pp. 253-4.

and that, to save his people and himself from destruction, he had invoked the aid of Ormond. The MacSheehys were mercenary soldiers, and had been employed by the O'Briens against their kinsman the Earl of Thomond, and they declared that they had also been employed by Desmond, and the charge was sustained by the Earl of Clanricarde. The Dean of Lismore accused him of having maintained a proclaimed traitor, and the Earl of Ormond of having robbed his own tenants, and of having protected the Burkes and Ryans, who were rebels and traitors.[13] When the views of the late Deputy, Sussex, were asked, he declared that this formidable indictment was true in every particular. As a courtier, he wished to stand well with the Queen; and while he characterised the acts of Ormond as justifiable offences, he described Desmond's acts as those of treason and murder.[14]

Both Earls were bound in the sum of £20,000 to abide by the Queen's decision, and in the last days of 1565 it was decreed that all their disputes were to be brought before Chancery, and there decided. Desmond was to put in pledges, and was then allowed to depart for Ireland; but the Deputy was directed to detain him at Dublin, until he paid whatever he owed, either to the Queen or to her subjects.[15] No such conditions were imposed on Ormond, who, the Queen thought, was treated unjustly by the late Deputy, Arnold. And Cecil spoke of that Earl's great loyalty and zeal in the Queen's service; and he told Sidney that Her Majesty's high opinion of him was thought to grow from the memory of his education with that "holy young Solomon, King Edward." Further, Cecil directed the Deputy Sidney, and by the Queen's orders, that Ormond was to be compensated for his services against the O'Mores and O'Connors; his brother, Sir Edmond Butler, was expressly allowed to levy coyne and livery, and Sidney, who had indicted him for having done so as against the law, was censured; and Sir W. St. Leger was also censured for having held the scales evenly between the contending Earls, and was accused

[13] Hamilton's *Calendar*, pp. 257-9, 262.
[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 269, 273. *Carew Papers*, 370-2.
[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 280, 285.

of being partial to Desmond.[16] That Earl had been appealed to by Shane O'Neill for assistance, and had refused, and yet he was distrusted; he had aided St. Leger against the Queen's enemy O'Reilly, and yet he was not thanked; and the Butlers, who had spoiled his lands in his absence, were not punished.[17] Finally, she chose to believe, without any fresh evidence being adduced, that he had harboured the rebels, O'More and O'Connor; and she directed the Deputy to arrest him, so that fresh accusations might be laid to his charge. From the Queen's letters to Ireland at this period, and from the letters of Cecil, it was quite evident that, if the Geraldine broke the law, or was even charged with breaking it, then the law was to be rigorously enforced, but if the law-breaker was the Earl of Ormond, the Queen's affection intervened, and covered him as a shield from its assaults.

After maturing his plans for the destruction of Shane O'Neill, Sidney, leaving to the Ulster chiefs and the Scots the work of Shane's overthrow, proceeded, in April 1567, to Munster, to carry out the Queen's orders and arrest the Earl of Desmond. He travelled from Youghal to Cork and Kinsale, and thence to Limerick, and the picture he gave to the Queen of the state of the country, and of what the inhabitants suffered, was calculated to still further embitter her mind against Desmond. Knowing her prejudices, he was careful not to blame Ormond, and the terms in which he speaks of Desmond show that he was quite cured of his affection for him, if indeed he had ever felt such. The land through which he passed was as fertile as any land could be, but war had rendered it waste and desolate; fire and famine had reduced the numbers of the inhabitants; and from the miserable remnant that was left he heard the most doleful complaints. Villages were burned, churches laid in ruins, towns and castles destroyed; and the skulls and bones of men strewn through the fields and unburied were so many that "hardly any Christian with dry eyes could behold." And he was told that a certain village had been burned by a servant of Desmond and some women rescued from the flames were found to be just

[16] Hamilton's *Calendar*, pp. 301, 305.
[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 319, 323.

dead, but the children were noticed to stir in their dead bodies, and yet, in the house of this murderer, Desmond soon after lodged and banqueted.[18] Amongst the people, matrimony was not observed; perjury, and robbery, and murder were allowed; they were not baptised; they had no conscience of sin, and made no account of the world to come.[19] If all this be true, it is strange that the people rose in rebellion to defend the ancient faith, and suffered death rather than embrace the new doctrines. However that may be, Desmond and his brother John were arrested and sent to London, where they were detained prisoners for years.

They were not brought to trial at once, though the charges preferred against them were many, and the Queen believed Desmond guilty, called his acts those of a traitor, and even reproved Sidney for making some excuses for him.[20] But if he was guilty he ought in justice to have been punished; if he was not guilty, he ought to have been set free. This, however, was not done. Everyone who had a charge to make against him and his brother was welcome to make it, and was readily believed. Yet the Queen and her Council would neither convict nor acquit the accused. He was thrown into the Tower; he was left without money, and was told by the Queen to get it from Ireland; he was at times so destitute that he had not as much as would buy him shoes.[21] He would not be allowed back to Ireland, though his submissive and pleading tone ought to have obtained mercy, if not justice. He left himself entirely in the Queen's hands, lamented his want of education to defend himself, and was willing to give up part of his lands and privileges; he even offered to serve Her Majesty in Ireland against those who were in rebellion.[22] Still he was detained. The Geraldines were indignant; the native chiefs were alarmed. It was easy to make charges, easy to poison the Queen's mind; and if they were suspected by her or by her ministers, they would not be saved from her wrath by a submissive or whining tone. And if they

[18] Hamilton's *Calendar*, p. 330.
[19] *Carew Papers*, Vol. III., Introduction.
[20] Hamilton's *Calendar*, p. 336.
[21] Hamilton's *Calendar*, p. 434.
[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 346, 462.

did submit entirely to her demands, and in consequence were regarded as good subjects, it meant that they should sacrifice much. They should abandon their old Irish privileges; the bard, and minstrel, and brehon should disappear; and they would be at the mercy of corrupt, grasping officials. Finally, they should abandon their faith. Elizabeth was a Protestant rather from policy than from conviction. She was a Catholic in Mary's reign, and after twenty years on the throne, she was ready to marry the Catholic Duke of Anjou.[23] But she was much under the influence of Cecil, Throgmorton, and others, who were zealous Protestants, and who caused her to believe that her safety on the throne required that she also should be one. Under their guidance she renounced the spiritual supremacy of the Pope, established the Book of Common Prayer, abolished the Mass,[24] aided the Huguenots of France, and the Reformers of Scotland, and the insurgent subjects of Spain in the Netherlands, and was, in 1569, excommunicated by Pius V., as a heretic Queen, and her subjects absolved from their allegiance.[25] So far the old faith was tolerated in Ireland, even within the Pale. But the time had now come when this toleration was to cease, when sides were to be taken, when the Queen was to declare that he that was not with her was against her, that to be a good subject it was necessary to be a good Protestant, and that it was the Queen's religion, and none other, that was to be allowed.

To protect their rights, especially their religious rights, a confederacy of leading Irishmen was formed. The Earl of Desmond's cousin, James Fitzmaurice, was at the head of all the Geraldines. MacCarthy More renounced his lately acquired title of Earl of Clancarty, and became once again The MacCarthy. The Seneschal of Imokilly lent his aid. The O'Briens revolted in Thomond, and the sons of Clanricarde in Connaught. And Sir Edmond Butler, brother of Ormond, joined with these, forgetting his ancient enmity to the Geraldines.[26] This latter, however, was not, like Fitzmaurice, fired by religious zeal, but was rather fighting against the attempted

[23] Lingard, Vol. v., p. 153.
[24] Mant's *History of the Church of Ireland*, Vol. i., p. 264.
[25] Lingard, Vol. vi., p. 111.
[26] Ware's *Annals*.

confiscation of his lands by an English adventurer named Carew. Descended from that Carew, who had been driven out of Idrone, in the 14th century, by Art MacMurrogh, his career had been hitherto full of adventure. First a page, then a muleteer to a French gentleman, and afterwards admitted to the French Court, he was with the French army at Pavia, and deserting after the battle to the Emperor's side, he became the special friend of the Prince of Orange. Next he is found at the court of Henry VIII., where his courtly manners, his knowledge of French, his skill as a knight, the sweetness with which he sang, the interest with which he recounted his travels and adventures, attracted the King's notice, who kept him much about his person, employed him in embassies to France and Scotland, and gave him both naval and military commands. Still unsatisfied with all he had seen, Carew again passed over to France, and thence to Constantinople was present with the King of Hungary at the siege of Buda, visited Vienna and Venice, and finally reached England, and related all he had gone through. He was present at the coronation of Edward VI., and during that King's short reign, and the reign of Mary, his life was uneventful, but in the reign of Elizabeth he was again a prominent figure. His passion for rambling was not chilled by advancing years. He had not yet seen Ireland, and in the hope of bettering his fortune there, he left England with the hearty approval of the Queen. He remembered that his ancestors had, in the 14th century, got large grants of land, and he found some old papers in which these grants were recorded. The papers were difficult to decipher, perhaps they were forged, but an obliging friend pretended to decipher them, and read out of them, or perhaps into them, what was required. Strange as it may seem, the Irish courts accepted such evidence, and one Cheevers was dispossessed of lands in Meath, as were the Kavanaghs in Idrone.[27] With the Butlers it was more difficult to deal. Carew contended that prescriptive rights were futile in Ireland; Sir Edmond Butler held an opposite view, and when

[27] *Carew Papers*, Vol. I., Introduction—Life of Carew. Morrin, *Calendar of the Patent Rolls*, pp. 520-1

Carew, backed by the Deputy, endeavoured to sieze that portion of Idrone west of the Barrow, Butler, to whom it belonged, resisted, and in retaliation spoiled the whole district.[28] In the meantime, Fitzmaurice and MacCarthy had wrung tribute from Kinsale, sent orders to Cork " to abolish out of that city that old heresy newly raised and invented " ; spoiled the country round Waterford; and if the Mayor of that city is to be believed, were treating the people more cruelly than " either Phalaris or any of the old Tyrants." [29]

But this confederacy, which seemed so formidable, had no element of stability, and the bond which kept its members together was nothing better than a rope of sand. Sidney with his forces went south, and passed from Cork to Limerick, without meeting anything more dangerous than threats, nor did he as he passed through Thomond to Galway. From England Ormond hastily came, and induced his brother Edmond to make his submission; and he told Cecil that the chief author of all these troubles was Sir Peter Carew. MacCarthy of Carbry followed Butler's example, and acknowledged that he was a cursed creature, and had been seduced by that pernicious rebel, James Fitzmaurice.[30] O'Brien of Ara also became an English subject, and got back his lands by English tenure. The Burkes continued fighting, but it was only amongst themselves; and the Earl of Thomond, who had revolted against Sir Edmond Fitton, the new President of Connaught, was reduced to obedience by the Earl of Ormond, and was glad to make his submission, and be received as an obedient subject of the Queen.[31]

With the expectation of crushing Fitzmaurice, and reducing all Munster, Sir John Perrott was appointed President of Munster, early in 1570, and took up his residence at Limerick. He was reputed to be an illegitimate son of Henry VIII., was a man of considerable ability, and was invested with extraordinary powers. He had the appointment of all government officers throughout Munster; he could rule by martial law; could parley with rebels,

[28] Hamilton's *Calendar*, pp. 410, 412.
[29] *Ibid.*, pp. 412-13.
[30] Morrin, pp. 542-3.
[31] White's *History of Clare*, pp. 186-9.

and make peace or war; could proclaim all assemblies unlawful; could cess the country under his rule to whatever extent he pleased. He was aided by a council, but was not bound to follow its advice; and with the feeble restriction that he was subject to the Deputy, he had in reality unlimited and absolute powers.[32] Yet, confronted with this strong man, armed as he was with such extensive powers, and aided by the Earl of Ormond, James Fitzmaurice still continued the struggle. His forces were few, but he was a man of resource and endurance; he retired to the wood of Aherlow, and from its sheltering recesses he sallied forth (1571), and burned the town of Kilmallock, thus preventing the place being a refuge for English troops.[33] He corresponded with France and Spain, hoping to get aid from them, but no aid came, and he sent a challenge to Perrott, which Perrott accepted. The place of combat was appointed, and the time, but Fitzmaurice, perhaps because he feared treachery, sent a messenger to say that he would not fight, that if Perrott were killed, the Queen could easily replace him, but that, if Fitzmaurice himself fell, his people would be without a leader.[34] Yet he could not continue the fight. The Butlers killed 100 of his followers, and when his strongest fortress was captured by Perrott, he had no alternative but to submit; and in the ruined church of Kilmallock, he and the Seneschal of Imokilly, with halters round their necks, craved pardon from Perrott, and declared that they would never have rebelled but for the example of Sir Edmond Butler, and Lord Clancarty.[35] This was the end of the rebellion in Munster. Two years before this date, the first assize court had been held in Thomond. With the President of Connaught, and the Earl of Thomond, acting together as justices, and an O'Brien acting as sheriff, English law was first administered in Thomond. The next year an assize court was held in Galway, and the Earl of Clanricarde, who had been for a time detained a prisoner, was sent back to Connaught, and pacified his unruly sons. The Kavanaghs and MacMurroghs surrendered their lands to the crown, and got them back by English

[32] Morrin, p. 535.
[33] Hamilton's *Calendar*, p. 438.
[34] *Ibid.*, p. 460. Meehan's *Geraldines.*
[35] *Ibid.*, pp. 489, 497 : *Life of Sir John Perrott.*

tenure; the O'Farrells did the same, and Annally was made shire ground. In the year 1573, the Earl of Desmond was released from prison, and returned to Ireland. If there was not universal peace, there was at least no war of importance; rebellion seemed to be finally crushed, and English institutions were rapidly supplanting those of native growth, which already had lasted so long.[36]

During these years, while Munster and Connaught were agitated by discord and rebellion, the state of Ulster was one of almost unbroken calm; except some obscure quarrel between the MacSweeneys of Tyrconnell, the *Four Masters*, for six entire years, have neither war nor battle to record. At a Parliament at Dublin (1569), Shane O'Neill was attainted, and all his possessions forfeited to the crown, and it was declared unlawful for anyone to assume the name and title of The O'Neill.[37] Beyond this the government did not go. With Connaught and Munster disturbed, it was not deemed wise to provoke the Ulster chiefs, who in reality deserved the gratitude rather than the hostility of government. All these chiefs had been on the side of England in the war with Shane O'Neill, and it was by the battle-axes of the O'Donnells, and the daggers of the Scots, his ruin had been accomplished. Yet these chiefs were not trusted. All their movements were watched; what they said and did was all carefully noted by English spies in their midst, and as carefully sent to Dublin and to England. The anxiety of the government was that their whole strength would never again be united under a single chief, as it had been under Shane O'Neill. They were to be kept divided and weak; and though O'Donnell and Turlogh Lynnagh O'Neill were outwardly regarded as friends, the Queen advised the Lords Justices (1567), that, if the latter showed any sign of being unfaithful to England, the young Earl of Tyrone, Hugh O'Neill, was to be supported against him; and in similar circumstances Conn O'Donnell was to be sustained against his uncle Hugh.[38] The care with which Turlogh Lynnagh was watched, and the aversion with which he was regarded by the English officials, is specially remarkable. For years the Deputy

[36] *Four Masters.*
[37] Ware's *Annals.*
[38] Hamilton's *Calendar*, p. 353.

Fitzwilliam, in almost every letter he wrote, made mention of him, of his pride, his treachery, his insincerity, his friendship for the Scots, his alliances with the other chiefs, his arrogant assumption of the name of prince, his sinister designs against the English. In 1567, he was likely, he thought, to be much more dangerous than Shane O'Neill, who never liked the Scots, while Turlogh employed them and sent to Scotland for a wife. The next year, Fitzwilliam was confident he was going to rebel; he was only panting for the Scots to join; he had already joined Conn O'Donnell, and presented him with a horseman's apparel; he insolently called himself a prince, had in fact burst out into rebellion and burned some towns, but the towns are not named. He had with him, in 1569, 1,000 Scots, and is working "in the old manner of his lewd predecessors;" and he had an understanding with all the rebels in the kingdom.[39] Wiser than her Deputy, the Queen had thanked Turlogh for his services against Shane, and expressed her intention to make him a baron, and to give him the northern portion of Tyrone, the southern portion being reserved for the young Baron of Dungannon.[40] And Turlogh was thankful, and if this had been done, he might have become content. But the baseless charges made against him, the distrust in which he was held, irritated him, and once, in 1569, he broke out in revolt. He continued to employ the Scots, demanded all the rights his ancestors had ever enjoyed, and protested against the attempted plantation of Clannaboy, and against any harm being done to Sorley Boy MacDonnell. But he had no intention of entering into a contest with the Queen, and, in 1571, made peace with her commissioners.[41]

Even more dreaded than Turlogh, and more troublesome, were the Scots. They were everywhere in Ireland, with Turlogh Lynnagh himself, with O'Neill of Clannaboy, with Fitzmaurice in Munster, with Clanricarde in Connaught. While these mercenary bands were allowed thus to come and go, there was no prospect of permanent peace; and the English ministers considered that, if the east coast of Antrim were planted with English colonists, much

[39] Hamilton's *Calendar*, pp. 351, 365, 387, 400, 402.
[40] *Ibid.*, pp. 336, 347.
[41] *Ibid.*, pp. 418, 485.

good would be done. These colonists would serve a double purpose. They would be a check on the neighbouring Irish chiefs, and they would shut in the faces of the Scots the door through which they had been accustomed to enter Ireland. A beginning was made in 1572, and in that year the district of the Ardes—eastward of Strangford Lough—was given to one Thomas Smith, son to the Queen's Secretary. These lands had been for centuries in the possession of the O'Neills, and Sir Brian O'Neill protested against giving them to a stranger; he recounted his own services to the Queen since his childhood, and felt sure that she did not wish to give away his lands.[42] Yet his appeals were unheeded, and his services were forgotten. Young Smith wrote to him from London, in May 1572, that he would soon come to live near him as a good neighbour, and that he hoped they would live on friendly terms; and Sir Thomas Smith sought to console the Irish by saying that these colonies were not intended to destroy the Irish race, but to teach them virtuous labour.[43] But O'Neill did not want to learn virtue from a robber, nor did he want to be his neighbour; and when Smith landed at Strangford Lough he opposed him, and told him he would not part with one foot of his land. Menaced by a common danger, Turlogh Lynnagh and the Scots aided him with their forces; Smith was insufficiently supported from Dublin, and in an incursion made into the Lower Ards, in October, 1573, he was defeated and slain.[44]

An attempt of the same kind, but on a much larger scale, was made the same year by the Earl of Essex. He was a young man much about the English court, and in high favour with the Queen. As Lord Hereford, he had served against the insurgents in the north of England, in 1569, and as a reward had been created Earl of Essex; and in the hope of still further gaining the Queen's favour, he offered to plant the east of Ulster, and for that purpose, heavily mortgaged his English estates. He was to hold, as the Queen's vassal, the whole district east of the Bann, and, in addition, the island of Rathlin. And within this extensive

[42] Hamilton's *Calendar*, p. 469.
[43] *Ibid.*, pp. 472, 488.
[44] *Ibid.*, pp. 482, 487, 525.

territory his power was to be unbounded. He alone was to have the fishing of Lough Neagh and the Bann, and for seven years all customs; he could divide the lands among his followers; appoint to all civil, military and ecclesiastical offices; to have the power of martial law over his own troops; could make laws; could make peace or war with the native chiefs; could burn their houses and castles, and seize on their stock; if found guilty of treason, could make them slaves, and "chain them to any ship or galley"; and if any of the Irish or Scotch robbed him or any of his assistants, he was at liberty to punish any others of the Scotch or Irish that he chose.[45] The Queen stipulated for those who engaged in the enterprise, and were of English birth, that each horseman was to get 400 acres of land, each footman 200; and that Essex was to take over her garrison of Carrickfergus, who were to serve under him, and be paid by him. She shared with him the expense of fitting out the requisite forces; she was to aid also in making and preserving fortresses; and money, arms, weapons, and victuals might be brought from England free for seven years, but on condition that no part of these things "be assigned or conveyed to any Irish, or Scots Irish, or mere Scots."[46] Many English knights and nobles wished to share in what looked to be a prosperous enterprise, and, accompanied by them, and at the head of 1,200 troops, Essex, in the autumn of 1573, cast anchor in Belfast Lough.

He soon found that the force at his disposal was entirely inadequate for the task he had undertaken. Equally alarmed at his proceedings, Turlogh Lynnagh, Sorley Boy, and the Scots, and O'Neill of Clannaboy joined hands against him. The other Ulster chiefs, such as Maguire, remained quiet, but keenly watched the contest, prepared to take sides with the stronger, and even O'Donnell, on whom the English so much relied, stood to them in doubtful terms. Carrickfergus had so much decayed, that the inhabitants were on the point of deserting it. The troops Essex brought with him were quickly diminished; some had almost immediately gone back to England; some had retired to the Pale.

[45] *Carew Papers*, pp. 439-41.
[46] *Ibid.*, p. 444.

Of the provisions sent from Bristol much was wasted on the voyage. Carrickfergus Castle was in ruins; and the soldiers who remained with him were so discouraged, that they threatened to mutiny, and alleged that they came for goodwill, and were not to continue longer than they wished themselves.[47] Finally, O'Neill of Clannaboy who at first came in and submitted, was repelled by the haughty and menacing tone of Essex; was told that he might perhaps expect clemency from the Queen, and all his cattle were seized; and, repenting of his submission, he declared war.[48]

The problem for Essex was to prevent Turlogh Lynnagh, Brian O'Neill, and the Scots from acting together. He should aim rather at having them at each other throats; and if he made peace with Sorley Boy it was only that he might make him a plague to the obstinate Irish.[49] Turlogh Lynnagh especially he was not to irritate, as his strength was great; there were troubles both in Munster and Connaught which demanded all the care of the Deputy, who could not, therefore, give any assistance in Ulster; and in these circumstances Essex's policy should be to temporise with the chieftain of Tyrone. But, in 1574, the trouble in Munster was over; the Deputy was directed to lend his aid in Ulster, and Essex plucked up courage to begin with Brian O'Neill, whom he was directed from England to reduce either by "fair means or by force."[50] He proceeded to carry out these instructions, and, accompanied by the Baron of Dungannon, he attacked Brian, and wasted his territory, after which O'Neill tendered his submission. Peace was then made, and Essex was invited to a feast, and hospitably entertained. His return was to murder all Brian's attendants, to the number of 200, and to send off the chief and his wife prisoners to Dublin, where they were executed.[51] Then he proceeded to attack Turlogh Lynnagh; but all he could claim to have done was that he burned much corn in Tyrone;

[47] *Carew Papers*, pp. 445-50.
[48] Richey, p. 353.
[49] *Ibid.*, p. 355.
[50] *Carew Papers*, p. 462.
[51] *Four Masters*, Hamilton's *Calendar*, Vol. II., p. 43. Froude's *England*, Vol. X., pp. 522-3.

when he had accomplished all this, he made peace with the chief whom he had attacked, and whose lands he had laid waste.[52]

Freed from anxiety as to Tyrone or Clannaboy, he turned his arms against the Scots. Twelve months before, Sorley Boy had sought peace with him, but Essex would enter into no arrangement which might involve tolerating the Scots, or leaving them in peaceful possession of their lands.[53] His own opinion was that "severity was the only way to reform this stubborn nation;" and, in July, 1575, he attacked Sorley Boy on the banks of the Bann. With only 900 men, the Scottish chief was soon defeated. His beaten army swam the river, and hid in the caves and hiding places of Tyrone. The English pursued them, hunted them out, as if they were so many wolves, and between 300 and 400 were put to death. Again Sorley Boy begged for peace, but Essex protested he had no power to make terms—he should get such power from England—and even while these negotiations were proceeding, he ordered Captain Norris to take three frigates from Carrickfergus, and 300 men, and attack Rathlin Island. A strong castle on the island was garrisoned by a few troops, and in this stronghold Sorley Boy and his fighting men had put their wives and children, thinking that there at least they were safe. The English battered down the fortress with heavy ordnance, and the constable of the castle submitted on condition that his own life and the lives of his wife and children were spared. But all others were ruthlessly massacred, soldiers and women, sick and aged, wailing mother and prattling babe. And Essex gleefully narrated that Sorley Boy was on the mainland, and looking across the waters to Rathlin, beheld the murder that was being perpetrated, and how, helpless to defend his people, he ran up and down the beach, tearing his hair and crying out in the agony of his grief.[54] Nor did the Queen censure him, but, on the contrary, praised him for his painful travails and good success, and he was directed by her to thank Captain Norris, and to assure him that she would not be unmindful of his good services.[55]

[52] Richey, p. 354.
[53] Hamilton's *Calendar*, pp. 5, 45.
[54] Hamilton's *Calendar*, Vol. II., p. 77. *Carew Papers*, Vol. II., p. 17.
[55] *Ibid.*, p. 21

Essex had a free hand for his severities, and yet he was not happy. He had to complain that he was not supported by the Deputy; his soldiers mutinied; he wanted money, and could not borrow it in Ireland.[56] Nor was the Queen disposed to give it to him. Her parsimony was notorious; she had the miser's passion for gold, and clutched and counted her shekels with the greedy avarice of a Jew. She was anxious that Essex should succeed, and angry when his success was not more rapid; she threatened to recall him, again encouraged him to go on, again thought his enterprise doubtful; and when he resigned his command, she bade him resume it.[57] Finally, she deprived him of the government of Ulster; and when he returned to England, to find his patrimony wasted by the enterprise, she consoled him by saying that she admired his patience and constancy in adversity; that he had covered himself with immortal renown, not like others who took delight in holding their noses over the beef pots.[58] And she appointed him Earl Marshal of Ireland, and sent him to that country, where he died in the following year. All his plans had come to naught; neither Scots nor Irish were subdued, and of him and the atrocities he committed they long cherished the bitterest memories.[59]

[56] *Ibid.*, pp. 15, 19.
[57] *Ibid*, pp. 56, 60-2, 78.
[58] *Carew Papers*, pp. 24-5.
[59] Froude's *England*, Vol. x., pp. 515-30.

CHAPTER V.

Sidney's last term of Office.

WHEN, on his return from England the Earl of Desmond reached Dublin he was allowed to proceed no further. The many charges made against him during his long detention in England ought to have exhausted the catalogue of his crimes; it was time to say whether he was innocent or guilty. But in Dublin fresh charges were made against him, and though they contained nothing new, he was not permitted to return to Munster, and the President of that province did not wish that he should. He had killed and hanged 800 Irish; at the sessions at Cork he had executed 60 persons; he boasted that throughout Munster there was not one evil man in rebellion; and he dreaded that this peaceful condition of things would not last if Desmond returned home, "a man rather meet to keep Bedlam than to come to a new reformed country."[1] Finding that no charges could be proved against the Earl, the Irish Council insisted that he should subscribe to certain conditions before being allowed his freedom. He should cease to levy coyne and livery, should have no idle men or gallowglasses, and no great guns. He was to exact no fines for murder, to abolish the Brehon law, to have "no parliaments on hills" to give security for his good behaviour. To all these conditions Desmond was not willing to subscribe; he refused "to forbear his Irish exactions

[1] Hamilton's *Calendar*, pp. 501, 503, 517.

and the liberties of Kerry;"[2] and, in consequence, though his brother John was set free, the Earl was still detained. He was not, however, kept in prison, but was given in charge to the Mayor of Dublin, who was to allow him abroad on his parole; and one day, on pretence that he was going hunting, he made his escape. He was at once proclaimed a traitor, and a large reward was offered for him, alive or dead; but he eluded his pursuers and arrived safely among his own people, where a cordial welcome awaited him.[3]

Munster was soon disturbed. His fortresses in Cork and Kerry and Limerick, which had been taken from him, were now re-captured by Desmond; he defeated the Earl of Clancarty; and the religious orders in his territory were restored to all those rights and privileges of which, in his absence, they had been deprived.[4] Perrott, the Lord President, was then in England, but Justice Walshe, his deputy, did not fail to send news of these transactions to London, and he put Desmond's conduct in the worst light.[5] The Queen was enraged, and breathed nothing but threats against the offending Earl. She expressed her displeasure that the Deputy Fitzwilliam did not attack him; she resolved to send over Perrott with 300 men, but instead sent over Sir William Drury, who was to proceed at once to Munster; and that all her forces might be free to act with him, she wrote conciliatory letters to the Ulster chiefs.[6] Desmond was soon attacked by the Deputy, and by the Earl of Ormond. His castle of Derrinlare was captured and the garrison slain; next, his castle of Castlemaine fell into English hands; and when these strongholds were taken he came to Clonmel, and submitted in the humblest fashion to the Lord Deputy, dispersed his forces, and delivered up the fortresses in his possession. His wife wrote to the Queen, in September, 1574, begging that he might be restored to favour; and the Earl himself wrote protesting that "he will faithfully serve and dutifully obey Her Majesty and

[2] *Ibid.*, 504-5.
[3] Ware's *Annals.*
[4] *Four Masters.*
[5] Hamilton's *Calendar*, pp. 530-34.
[6] *Carew Papers*, Vol. I., p. 477.

her governors of Ireland"; and he prayed for one "drop of grace to assuage the flame of his tormented mind." [7]

Peace was thus established in Munster, but there was no peace in the other provinces. Connaught was kept in a ferment by the sons of Clanricarde, who kept 500 Scots in their pay. Their father was either unable or unwilling to restrain them; the Earl of Essex thought he was unwilling, and described him as the worst subject in Ireland. [8] The quarrels of the O'Briens had turned Thomond into a desert; the corn was wasted, the churches in ruins, the houses of the people destroyed. [9] The O'Mores and O'Connors were at war with the English planters in their midst; and the state of the Pale was one of turbulence and disorder, even to the gates of Dublin. [10] Fitzpatrick of Ossory and the Earl of Ormond quarrelled; the Earl of Kildare was suspected of favouring the O'Mores and O'Connors in their rebellion, had many other serious charges made against him, and was arrested and sent a prisoner to London to be tried; [11] the proceedings of Essex kept Ulster in turmoil, and the name of England was disgraced by the murder of Brian O'Neill, and the horrors of Rathlin Island. Nor were the Scots yet vanquished, and only a month after the Rathlin massacres, Sorley Boy defeated the forces of Captain Norris, and plundered Carrickfergus. [12] To add to all these horrors, the plague raged fiercely in Dublin and throughout the Pale. [13] The outlook was so gloomy, that the Deputy was filled with dread and wished to be recalled. He was not popular with the other officials; with the Presidents of Munster and Connaught he was rarely in agreement; with Essex he was in great disfavour; and the Queen thought that against the Earl of Desmond he ought to have done more, and censured him for having done so little. [14] Depression of spirits accompanied by bodily infirmity rendered it

[7] Hamilton, Vol. II., p. 37.
[8] Hamilton's *Calendar*, pp. 14-16.
[9] *Four Masters.*
[10] Hamilton, p. 3, *Carew Papers*, Vol. I., p. 472.
[11] Hamilton, pp. 53, 63-5, 68-73.
[12] Ware's *Annals.*
[13] Hamilton, pp. 527-8.
[14] Carew, p. 473.

desirable that he should be relieved of the heavy burden laid upon him, and, in September, 1575, he ceased to be Deputy, and Sir Henry Sidney was appointed to succeed him.

The new Deputy knew Ireland well. Though harsh and stern, he was not treacherous; he would never use poison to rid himself of an opponent, as Sussex did, nor massacre helpless women and children, as Essex did. His severity towards the law-breakers, his protection of the law-abiding, was recognized by the Irish themselves; and Turlogh Lynnagh wrote to him, bidding him welcome as a Viceroy who would not make rebels of good subjects. [15] As the plague was raging in Dublin, he landed at Drogheda, and forthwith commenced a circuit of the whole country. He met the chiefs and made agreements with them, noted the conduct of the officials, took measures for the preservation of peace; and the letters which he wrote to England, detailing what he saw and did, are especially valuable. Drogheda had benefited by the expenditure made there by the Earl of Essex, expenditure necessary for maintaining his troops; but south of it was impoverished by the continual passing and repassing of troops. O'Hanlon's country was in extreme disorder, and so also was the country called the Fews. Turning eastwards, he found Iveagh, the country of Magennis, still suffering from former disorders, but Magennis himself was well disposed; and the English Privy Council appreciated his good dispositions, and were willing that he should be made a baron, though the rent offered by him for Iveagh was "very mean." [16] Eastward of Iveagh was the district of Kineliarty, which was desolate and waste, inhabited by thieves and outlaws. Dufferin, on the western shores of Strangford Lough, was little better, but Lecale, further south, showed signs of improvement. The Country of the Ardes was in a satisfactory condition, and his explanation is a characteristically English one—because "there were many freeholders of English race of ancient habitation there." Had they been mere Irish, there could not, of course, have been any such improvement. The attempted plantation of Clannaboy had proved to be a dismal

[15] Hamilton's *Calendar*, Vol. II., p. 83.
[16] *Ibid.*, p 82. *Carew Papers*, Vol. II., p. 36.

failure; the land was turned into a desert and wholly uninhabited. Carrickfergus was much decayed, the churches and houses burned; the inhabitants had fled, and not more than six remained, who were comforted to hear of the Queen's intention to wall the town; and they hoped that this would induce people to come and live there. The Glynnes under Sorley Boy he found full of corn and cattle, and the chief himself was of good dispositions; and he asked to have a grant of the Route and the Glynnes, a petition the English Council were reluctant to grant. They thought it better that he should get only the Glynnes, and that a captain should be appointed in Clannaboy and another in the Route, and that these two would keep the Scots in check. Retracing his steps, and then proceeding westward, Sidney found Dungannon wasted. Armagh was worse still, its cathedral in ruins, the town itself miserable. At this point of his journey, he met Turlogh Lynnagh O'Neill and his wife, both of whom favourably impressed him. They were anxious to live as good subjects, and wanted a patent of nobility; and the English Council agreed that Turlogh was to be created an Earl and his son a Baron. Sidney did not visit O'Donnell or Maguire, nor did he meet either of these chiefs, but both wrote to him and expressed their willingness to pay some tribute to the Queen for their lands, stipulating that they must be freed from any payment to the O'Neills.[17]

From Ulster the Deputy passed into Meath, which suffered much from the incursions of the O'Connors and the O'Mulloys; but the noblemen and gentlemen who dwelt there were well-intentioned, and were encouraged by the good example of a neighbouring Irish chief, O'Reilly of Cavan, whose country was peaceful, the best ruled country in all Ireland, as O'Reilly himself was the justest Irishman. Westmeath was even more disturbed than Meath. As yet the Queen's writ did not run there; but he was determined that it soon should, and he hoped much from the peaceful disposition of the lords there. As for Longford, the O'Farrells were good neighbours both to Westmeath and to the Pale, and lived in better order and greater wealth than they did

[17] *Carew Papers*, Vol. II., pp. 30, 36-7.

before their land was converted into shire ground.[18] The county of Dublin was kept in constant alarm by Fiach MacHugh O'Byrne; Kildare was extremely impoverished, and so was Carlow; and in Wexford, the part where most disturbance prevailed was under the charge of English captains, who quarrelled much more recklessly than did the Irish themselves. As for Wicklow, the land of the O'Byrnes and the O'Tooles, it was in good order, and the same could be said of the land of the MacMurroghs. In King's and Queen's counties the English planters had fared badly. Surrounded by those who had been robbed of their lands, they were in the midst of a hostile population, in whose hearts was the bitter memory of wrong. These despoiled natives coveted the fields from which they had been driven, and hated the foreigners for whose sakes this spoliation had been done; and though 200 English soldiers were kept in these newly planted districts, the settlers were not safe. They were daily spoiled; they were unable to pay the rents fixed by government; and the revenue from the planted districts was not equal to one twentieth the cost of defending them. Some, no doubt, succumbed to Irish influences, others let their lands to Irish tenants; and while the English tenants decayed, the natives gradually recovered what they had lost. And such was the weakness of these planters, and such the strength of the O'Mores, that their chief, Rory Oge O'More, held possession of what lands he pleased—"he occupieth what he listeth and wasteth what he will." Upper Ossory and Ely O'Carroll were in good order, but Kilkenny was in the worst possible condition, "the sink and receptacle of innumerable cattle and goods stolen out of other countries"[19] At Kilkenny City, the Deputy was hospitably entertained by the Earl of Ormond, and there he met Rory Oge O'More, who expressed sorrow for his misdeeds and made promises of amendment. Sidney rebuked him severely, and told him he would assign him lands on which he must be content to live peacefully. And he appointed the Earl of Upper Ossory to take charge of the King's and Queen's counties and the Earl of Ormond to take charge of Kilkenny and Tipperary, and, this done, he hastened on to Waterford.

[18] *Carew Papers*, p. 31.
[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 32-4.

From that city he passed on to Lord Power's place at Curraghmore, "one of the best ordered countries in the English Pale," thence to Decies, belonging to Sir James Fitzgerald, who was left by his deceased brother very rich, but had spent all. He had four times as much land as Lord Power, and, although of better quality, yet it was waste and impoverished, and could boast of more idle vagabonds than cattle.[20] Through Dungarvan he passed to Youghal, which was so poor that it could not entertain him, and he was compelled to pass on to Cork, where he remained for six weeks. There he held sessions, and met the Earls of Desmond, Thomond and Clancarty, and many lords, knights and chiefs, Irish and Anglo-Irish, all of whom had their wives with them, and spent the Christmas merrily with the Deputy in the city; and all these chiefs and nobles desired to surrender their lands, and get them back by English tenure. They agreed also to furnish a list of their retainers and to answer for them. From Cork, Sidney passed on to Kilmallock and Limerick, where he met several nobles and chiefs whom he had not met at Cork. Taking a general survey of the state of Munster, he was satisfied that it was progressing towards order and peace, and would be as quiet as Waterford, if Perrott had been continued in his office. But he believed that both Ormond and Desmond should be deprived of their Palatine rights, the former in Tipperary, the latter in Kerry. As long as the Queen's writ was not allowed to run in these countries there could be no perfect reformation in Munster.[21]

Early in 1576, the Deputy crossed the Shannon and entered Thomond, and in two short sentences he epitomises its recent history, and pronounces a censure on its chiefs of which they must have been ashamed. "I was attended," he says, "by the Earl of Thomond, Sir Daniel O'Brien and others, all gentlemen of one surname, and yet no one of them friend to another. These are the great undoers of their own country and neighbours, yet so near kinsmen as they are, descended of one grandfather." He could find no trace of any of English descent where, in the 14th

[20] *Carew Papers*, p. 38.
[21] *Ibid*, p. 41.

century, the De Clares had been so powerful; and as for the natives, they were harassed and ruined by the senseless squabbling of the O'Briens. "If they were not a people of more spare diet than others, it were not possible that a soil so wasted could sustain them, and yet many they are not in number." Two of these warring O'Briens he made prisoners, another he made sheriff; he appointed law officers to carry out the English law; and Thomond, which was already a county, the County of Clare, and which in his last government he had annexed to Connaught, he now reannexed to Munster.[22]

Leaving the land of the O'Briens, the Deputy entered Connaught, which he for the first time divided into counties, and on his arrival at Galway he was hospitably entertained. Six years before Fitton had been appointed President of Connaught, but the new arrangement had worked badly. Fitton's office was partly military and partly civil; he was not restrained by any council; no judges were sent on circuit; the President's powers were really without limit, and his character was such that it was dangerous to invest him with such powers. He had no tact in government and cruelly treated the Irish, whom he despised.[23] When he held sessions in Galway his executions were wholesale; for five days he burned and spoiled the corn in Lower Connaught;[24] when he captured a castle near Galway, every man in the garrison was put to the sword; when O'Connor Don was invited by him to a conference at Athlone (1571), he was thrown into prison,[25] and the same treatment was meted out to the Earl of Clanricarde (1572), when his sons rebelled, though there was no evidence that he had aided or abetted, or even sympathised with their rebellion, and in the battle of Shrule (1570) it was on the President's side he fought.[26] English law, to be respected by the natives, ought to be just, and justly administered; but Fitton's picture of justice in Connaught was not the goddess with her eyes bandaged and the

[22] *Carew Papers*, Vol. II., p. 48.
[23] Hamilton's *Calendar*, Vol. I., p. 429.
[24] *Ibid.*, p. 460.
[25] *Annals of Loch Ce.*
[26] *Four Masters.*

scales evenly held, but rather a goddess with her eyes open, a sword dripping with blood in one hand, the other hand held out for bribes. The harassed people tried to purchase his good will, and in Thomond (1571) it was not possible to count the number of cattle which he thus received.[27] His cruelty and violence, his treachery and corruption disgusted all; the Earl of Clanricarde's sons rebelled and were joined by many others, and at last Fitton was deprived of all power in Connaught (1576); and his name and even the name of his office were so abhorred, that the new official Malbie was called "Colonel of Connaught."

The town of Galway Sidney found much decayed, and in Athenry everything was burned, college, parish church and all, by the Earl's sons, though the mother of one of them was buried in the church. These two sons made submission to the Deputy, and were brought by him prisoners to Dublin. He also received submission from MacWilliam Burke of Mayo, a sensible man who spoke Latin but knew no English, and who gratefully received the order of English knighthood, and admitted an English sheriff into his territory. Similar submissions were made by O'Malley, O'Flaherty and O'Madden, who were of Irish descent, and by Jordan and Prendergast, who were of English descent. Sidney took measures for rebuilding Athenry and surrounding it by a wall, Clanricarde's territory to bear the expense; he also took possession of two of the Earl's castles, Loughrea and Claregalway; and then he proceeded to Roscommon, where he met O'Connor Don and MacDermott, both of whom wished to be subject to English law. At Athlone he remained nine days; he held sessions at Longford; appointed two commissioners to determine controversies in Connaught, and a Provost-marshal to execute thieves and destroyers of their country; and, this done, he returned to Dublin.[28]

But Connaught was not to have peace, and when Clanricarde's sons were released from Dublin on promise of good behaviour, they no sooner crossed the Shannon than they renounced English

[27] *Ibid.*
[28] *Carew Papers*, Vol. II., pp. 49-51.

dress and laws; and, at the head of both Scots and Irish, attacked and demolished the partially built walls of Athenry. Loughrea they also attacked, but were driven off by the English garrison.[29] They invited MacWilliam Burke to join them, and as he refused, they invaded and spoiled his territory, and took possession of his castle at Castlebar. These proceedings again caused Sidney to cross the Shannon to Galway, whence he went to Athenry, and on through Shrule to Castlebar. The latter place he captured and handed over to MacWilliam (1577), after which, leaving Malbie a sufficient force, and in possession of the castles of Roscommon and Athlone, he returned to Dublin. The Earl's sons retired before him into the mountains, and continued a desultory warfare, though they effected nothing of importance.[30] Their father was carried to Dublin, and imprisoned there. He was then sent to London, where many accusations were made against him, nor was it until two years later that he was set free. In his absence his sons kept quiet, fearful, perhaps, lest renewed disturbances might hasten their father's ruin. The other Connaught chiefs showed a disposition to surrender their lands and receive them back by English tenure, all but O'Rorke, whom Malbie described as the proudest man on earth. The old plan of setting up a rival chief was adopted. Malbie and his puppet attacked O'Rorke and captured Leitrim, though it was soon recaptured by the defeated chief, who still clung to his ancient privileges and rejected English sheriffs and English laws.[31]

At this date Sir William Drury was President of Munster. He was a juster man than Fitton of Connaught, but he was as harsh and cruel, and equally convinced that the right way to govern the Irish was not by love but by fear. At Cork, he executed 42 persons, at Kilkenny, 36, at Limerick, 80, and he boasted that he had altogether executed 400 persons.[32] At Clare, he held sessions and executed many, and he left a provost-marshal to execute more, and the cruelty of this officer was so great, that the Earl of Thomond went to London (1577), to make a personal complaint

[29] Hamilton's *Calendar*, Vol. II., p. 97.
[30] *Carew Papers*, pp. 64-5.
[31] *Four Masters*.
[32] Hamilton's *Calendar*, pp. 101, 130.

to the Queen.[33] O'Carroll of Ely surrendered all his lands and received them back by English tenure, and thus effectually subjected himself and his territory to English law. But the Earl of Desmond was not equally complying; he still clung to his ancient rights; and when Drury entered Kerry, determined to have the Queen's writ run there as elsewhere, Desmond held aloof from him, and it seemed as if he would offer resistance. Yet he remained quiescent, and even came to see Sidney (1578) at Kilkenny; and Sidney rightly described him as a weak and impotent body, with little ability for fight.[34]

In Ulster, Turlogh Lynnagh had not got his Earldom; but he was on good terms with the English and with his neighbours, and all Ulster might be described as peaceful during Sidney's term of office. In Leinster, the Earl of Kildare, acquitted of all the charges made against him, had come back to his own territory, and was an obedient and trusted subject. But his neighbours, the O'Mores and O'Connors, wasted the Pale.[35] They were under the leadership of Rory Oge, who renounced his allegiance to England, despised the small position and doubtful security of an English subject, and at the head of his own relatives, wronged and despoiled as himself, he lived the life of an outlawed chief. With Cormack O'Connor as his fellow-leader, he burned Naas and Carlow, and captured the Deputy's nephew, Captain Harrington.[36] In the woods and among the hills he dwelt, and from these sheltered retreats he often burst upon the foe. The English compared him to Robin Hood, and could not understand how it was he always escaped, whether by swiftness of foot, or else by sorcery or enchantment.[37] But he was at last run to earth, and by a countryman of his own. Some traitor among his own followers betrayed his hiding place to Fitzpatrick, and that nobleman pounced upon him with superior numbers. In the engagement that followed Rory was killed; but the assailants met with a stubborn resistance

[33] *Four Masters.*
[34] *Carew Papers* p. 127.
[35] *Four Masters.*
[36] Hamilton, p. 107.
[37] Hamilton's *Calendar*, pp. 137-8

and were mortified at not being able to bring away with them the dead chief's head. It was feared that Fiach MacHugh O'Byrne would follow in Rory's footsteps, and perhaps avenge that chief's death. But these fears were soon dissipated, for O'Byrne came voluntarily to Dublin and made his submission; and he declared that he would never have rebelled but for the conduct of his English neighbours, Masterson and Carew, who had killed his uncle, plundered his country, and endeavoured to murder himself.[38] With this chieftain's submission and the death of Rory O'More, all Leinster might be said to be at peace.

But the fire smouldered, and an event which occurred the year before Rory O'More was killed, was calculated to add fuel to the expiring flame. The English who dwelt in the newly planted districts of ancient Leix, invited the native Irish to a friendly conference at the Rath of Mullaghmast, five miles eastward of Athy. There were many disputes between the two races, and perhaps the Irish hoped that these disputes might well be arranged by a friendly interchange of views, and that these districts, so long wasted by war, might at last experience the blessings of order and peace. The English bade them bring all their representatives men, and the seven septs of Leix sent their chiefs. They soon found that the invitation to a conference was but a snare, and no sooner had they all entered the fort than they were set upon by lines of soldiers, and every man slain. A tradition was long after current that not all that were invited were slain; for one Henry Lalor, noticing that none of those who preceded him into the fort came out, was on his guard, and when he entered and saw the mangled carcasses of his relatives, he drew his sword and fought his way out, and thus saved his own life and the lives of others who had not yet arrived, but were on their way. Details of the massacre vary, for while Dowling puts the number killed at 40, and Sullivan at 180, Captain Lee puts the number at between 300 and 400; but the fact of the massacre is undoubted. The planner of it, no doubt, was Cosby, the Commander of the Queen's troops, whose cruelties in Leix and Offaly were well known, and who hoped

[38] *Ibid.*, pp. 142-4.

in this thorough-going fashion to rid himself and his government of these troublesome septs, whom it was found so difficult to subdue. But Cosby was not alone, and had, as his assistants, the Grahams, the Piggots, the Bowens, the Hartpoles, the Hovendens, the Fitzgeralds and the Dempseys. The five last were Catholics. The Dempseys alone were purely Irish, with no English or Protestant blood in their veins, and it was against these their countrymen felt the bitterest enmity. They regarded them as traitors to their country, their religion, and their friends; and in the state of poverty and misery to which the Dempseys were reduced, their countrymen, in after ages, thought they saw the vengeance of God and retribution for the blood of Mullaghmast. [39]

During his former term of office, Sidney had informed the Queen (1567) that he wished to call a Parliament, and Her Majesty had replied that she misliked Parliaments except the same appeared very necessary.[40] If Parliament agreed to what she wanted all was well. But its members might not be so complying; they might debate and discuss and find fault, and such being at least possible she misliked Parliaments. Yet Sidney thought it well that a Parliament should be called; but he took pains to have it so constituted that all he wished done would easily be done. Some members were returned for non-corporate towns, some sheriffs and mayors had returned themselves, and some were returned for corporations where they did not reside, and which they did not know. When the Parliament met, these irregularities were challenged; a Parliamentary opposition appeared, and their objections were laid before the law officers, who decided that members returned for non-corporate towns, and mayors and sheriffs returned for their own towns and counties were ineligible, and were therefore unseated. A contest also arose as to how far the Queen's prerogative extended; but the angry feeling aroused by these controversies soon subsided, and several Acts of Parliament were then passed. [41] Mindful of

[39] Dowling's *Annals*. Captain Lee's *Memorial to Queen Elizabeth*. (Appendix to Curry's *Civil Wars*). Bagwell's *Ireland under the Tudors*, Vol. II., pp. 130-1. *Annals of Loch Ce* at 1567. *Four Masters* at 1577, which is the true date.

[40] Hamilton's *Calendar*, Vol. I., p. 324.

[41] Cox, *Hibernia Anglicana*, pp. 329-31.

these events, Sidney, in his last term of office, called no Parliament, but by the exercise of the Queen's prerogative alone he imposed taxes on the inhabitants within the Pale. These inhabitants felt aggrieved, and respectfully placed their grievances before the Deputy and Council. They complain that they are oppressed with cesses and exactions, contrary to the law, and that their corn and beeves are taken by the government at mean and base prices, whereby they are reduced to decay and poverty. They protest their loyalty to the Queen and their respect for the Deputy, and their willingness to pay any taxes which the law prescribed. But they do not think it reasonable that, for cattle which, in the open market were worth 20 shillings, they should receive but 9 shillings, for sheep worth half a crown they received but a shilling, for lambs worth a shilling they got but threepence, and for the keep of a soldier's horse they were allowed but a fourth of what it cost. These grievances were real and urgent; and as no redress could be had in Ireland the Lords of the Pale, of whom Lords Baltinglass and Delvin are especially mentioned, selected three persons, Skurlock, Netterville and Burnell, to proceed to England (1577) and require redress at Her Majesty's hands.[42]

Instead of getting redress in England, they were all thrown into prison, and those who sent them were thrown into prison in Ireland. To quarter soldiers upon law-abiding subjects, and to take corn and cattle from them without sufficient payment, or without any payment, was the same as coyne and livery, against which so many enactments had been passed. But what was reprehensible in an Irish chief or noble was blameless in the Queen, who claimed to be above Parliaments and laws; and to question anything she did, or which was done by her authority, was to set bounds to her prerogative, and in any subject was a crime. These messengers from Ireland were asked in indignation was not the cess of which they complained always levied by the Deputy in past times? had not Sidney offered to correct any excesses there might be in levying it, or to commute it to a fixed tax? did they not think that the soldiers, unable to live on their scanty pay,

[42] *Carew Papers*, pp. 57-9.

should be victualled by those in whose defence they were employed? In fear and trembling they answered that past Deputies, when they took goods, paid for them at the market value, nor had any previous Deputy levied cess for his own household. They objected that the cess was not levied according to law, nor by the consent of those whose goods were taken, and they thought it was prohibited by statute. They believed that Sidney's offer of commuting it was unjust, and that, when the price of corn and cattle diminished, it might become still more unjust. Besides, the land tax might be increased, and they demanded that their burdens should not rest on discretion, but be grounded upon law. [43]

Such language, explanatory, respectful, reasonable, was little to the taste of the haughty Queen. "Their allegation that the relieving of our army by way of cess is a matter against law and custom, tends manifestly to the overthrow of our prerogative." She marvelled at the presumption of Netterville and his fellows, and sharply told Sidney and the Irish Council that they failed in their duty in suffering thus her royal prerogative to be impugned. Such persons should have been at once committed to prison. [44] Nettled at this rebuke, Sidney vented his ire on the prisoners in London. He charged Skurlock with having made a fortune on law, which, after all, only shows that he was a successful lawyer. Netterville was the son of a mean justice of one of the benches, and lived better than ever his father had done, and the same was true of Burnell. It would have been better for him, he thought, to attend to his clients' causes and not so rashly to have meddled with Her Majesty's prerogative, which is not limited by Magna Charta nor found in Littleton's Tenures, nor written in Books of Assize. [45]

Nothing but the most abject apologies on the part of the prisoners could satisfy the offended Queen They had to declare that she could, without Parliament, compel her subjects to pay cess according to her pleasure, and that it was for her to declare when there was necessity for taxation, and not to be argued or disputed by the subject. They declared they never meant to

[43] *Ibid.*, pp. 61-3.
[44] *Carew Papers*, p. 79.
[45] Richey, p. 369. Camden's *Annals.*

impugn her prerogative, and they humbly acknowledged their offences and craved for mercy.[46] They were then released. And again the Queen rebuked Sidney, told him if the money sent from England was well used it should have gone further than it did, and that he should have been more careful in these troublesome days "when our evil affected neighbours have been vehemently solicited by evil members to disturb that realm." Such was the ungracious language she used towards a valuable public servant who had served her faithfully and long. Tired of serving such a Queen, so slow to praise, so quick to blame, so niggardly to reward, Sidney resigned his office (1578) and left Ireland for ever.

[46] Carew, pp. 103, 124.

CHAPTER VI.

Desmond's Rebellion.

AT the death of Queen Mary, all power in England and Ireland was in the hands of the Catholics, and it appears strange that they quietly acquiesced in the accession of a Queen who favoured Protestantism, and who became the enemy and persecutor of the Catholic religion. But the explanation is given by Cox, and is, no doubt, true, that they expected she would be a Catholic, as in fact she had been, or had pretended to be, during her sister's reign.[1] These expectations were soon falsified, for Elizabeth gradually rid herself of her Catholic advisers, and surrounded herself with reformers; and under their influence she sanctioned the enactment, and putting in force, of a cruel penal code. In the second year of her reign, a Parliament was held at Dublin, which enacted that all officers should take the Oath of Supremacy.[2] Whoever refused, for the first offence, was deprived of his office, for the second offence, he was guilty of præmunire, for the third, of high treason. The same Parliament enacted that the Mass should cease to be celebrated, and that the Book of Common Prayer should be used. Those in office who refused to accept the change were, for the first offence, fined a year's revenue of the office they held, and got six months imprisonment; for the second offence, they incurred

[1] Cox, p. 311.

[2] Camden's *Annals* at 1559. Unlike her father, Elizabeth did not claim to have or to confer spiritual jurisdiction, but she claimed to have "next under God the highest power over the estates of the Church, to the exclusion of any foreign power" such as the Pope.

dismissal from office, and got twelve months imprisonment; for the third offence, imprisonment for life. It was further prescribed that the laity should attend Protestant service every Sunday and holiday, or pay a fine of twelve pence. In England, the liturgy was in English, but in Ireland, as the people did not know English, the liturgy was permitted to be used in Latin. In addition to all this, the first fruits, and the twentieths of ecclesiastical benefices, were given to the Queen, and so also was the right to appoint to bishoprics, without even issuing the *conge d'elire* to the diocesan chapters of dioceses. There was a proclamation issued by the Viceroy (1564), that all priests and friars should leave Dublin; and, in the following year, Sidney and the Protestant bishops published the Book of Articles, which condemned papal supremacy, the Mass, the use of images, candles and beads. No bishop was to be appointed who was unable to speak English, and, that the natives might learn the language, Free Schools were to be established (1570), in which English teachers taught, and in which the pupils could learn the use of English, and the doctrines of Protestantism.[3]

Yet the reformed doctrines made no progress. Over a large portion of the country the Queen's writ did not run; and in these districts the laws passed, and the proclamations fulminated by the Viceroy were equally ignored. In the Parliament itself there was the strongest opposition to Protestantism. The temporal lords were firmly attached to Catholicity; a government commission had to report that all the bishops, but two, were similarly disposed; and as to the clergy, all refused to conform, and their places thus vacated none could be found to fill.[4] The towns remained steadfastly Catholic; and in Dublin the attempt to compel the people to attend the Protestant churches was futile. In order to escape paying the prescribed fine, some did attend the churches, but they went as if to a May-game.[5] Sometimes they would pour out all the wine from the communion cup, and allow it to run down through their long flowing beards; sometimes they flung the communion bread

[3] Mant's *History of the Church of Ireland*, Vol. I., pp. 253-62, 263, 271, 275, 290. Moran's *Archbishops of Dublin*, p. 61

[4] Moran, p. 67, note.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 68, 70. (Letter of Sussex)

derisively from one to another: and sometimes they raised such shouts and cries, that the service should be stopped until the disturbers were forcibly expelled.[6] And when Sidney made a circuit of the country, in 1576, he had to lament that the cause of Protestantism had not advanced. In the diocese of Meath, the Catholic Bishop, Walsh, who refused to take the Oath of Supremacy, had been deprived, and for many years was in prison, and his place was taken by a reformed bishop, Brady, whom Sidney described as a Godly minister of the Gospel.[7] He had taken possession of all the Catholic churches, and of the lands attached to them, and he had himself gone from church to church; but his best efforts were unavailing, and of the 224 parishes in his diocese, 105 were leased out to farmers, no vicar was resident in them; and of the curates only 18 could speak English; the rest were Irish priests, or rather, says Sidney, "Irish rogues, having very little Latin, and less learning or civility." They were Catholic priests, and as such roused Sidney's ire. Deprived of the revenues of the Church lands, they lived on the offerings of the people to whose spiritual wants they ministered. But their slender revenues were insufficient to keep the churches in repair, and in many places the very walls of the churches had fallen down, the chancels were uncovered, and through the broken windows and doors the winds howled. If such was the condition of Meath, so near to Dublin, so accessible to influences from there, Sidney asked Her Majesty to conjecture in what condition other parts of the country were; but he could assure her "that upon the face of the earth where Christ is professed there is not a church in so miserable a case."[8]

With the wailings of Sidney over the ruined condition of the Protestant Church, Elizabeth had little sympathy, and equally title with the reforming zeal of some of her ministers. The creed she learned in her youth was the one her father had adopted in his last years, and in every respect it was the creed of the Catholics, except that the spiritual supremacy of the Pope was denied. The Pope she did not like, for he refused to

[6] Moran, p. 72.
[7] Mant, p. 280.
[8] *Ibid*, pp. 298-9.

dissolve the marriage of Catherine of Arragon, and in declaring that marriage valid he declared Elizabeth to be illegitimate; and from a religion which thus branded her as a bastard she was repelled. Yet, while she favoured the Protestants, and had penal laws enacted against the Catholics, she had no intention, at least in the early years of her reign, of embarking on a policy of persecution; and she personally intervened (1562), lest the Act prescribed in the Oath of Supremacy should be rigorously enforced.[9] The Catholics she knew were still the majority of the nation, and to drive them to desperation, and perhaps to rebellion, would be in the highest degree unwise. Kindness might succeed where severity might fail, and the less she differed in her faith from the faith of the Catholics, and the less violent were the changes made, the easier for the Catholics would be the transition, and the greater the probability that they might be induced to accept those doctrines which she had adopted as her own.[10] Some of the gloomy fanatics who surrounded her would have been better pleased that the innate cruelty of her nature was allowed freer scope, and that the Catholics might suffer. And they who regarded statues and images as so much idolatry, were scandalized to discover that their Protestant Queen had an image of the Blessed Virgin in her room, and that she prayed before it, believing it specially appropriate that a virgin Queen should pray to a Virgin Mother.

To these reforming zealots the sentence of excommunication, pronounced by Pius V., (1570), was welcome news.[11] It seemed to be ample justification for harsher and sterner measures against the Catholics; it identified their faith with disloyalty and rebellion; and when they were told by the Head of their Church that the Queen was a heretic sovereign, and as such no longer entitled to their allegiance, their enemies in England might easily say, as they did, that those who were faithful to the Pope were of necessity traitors to the Queen. The Catholics might have been tolerated as long as they denied the temporal supremacy of the Pope; but the distinction was not then sufficiently recognised

[9] Lingard, Vol. VI., p. 42.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 121.
[11] Camden's *Annals*, (copy of Bull).

between the temporal and spiritual jurisdiction; and both in England and Ireland there was henceforth less toleration for those who clung to the ancient faith. Experience of these facts it was which drove Fitzmaurice into rebellion (1569-73), and which obtained for him the assistance of so many in Munster. But he effected nothing. His allies deserted him one by one, and after he had submitted, and his submission had been accepted, finding his personal liberty, and even his life endangered, he left Ireland and fled to France.

He was an earnest Catholic, resenting bitterly the treatment of his religion at home; and he appealed to the Catholic sovereigns of France and Spain for aid against its persecutors. But he appealed in vain, as both were then at peace with England, and were unwilling to undertake a war for the sake of the Irish Catholics. Both, however, wished him well, and Henry of France wrote in his favour to Queen Elizabeth, but without effect.[12] Finally, Fitzmaurice made his way to Rome, and poured into the ears of the Pope the tale of his country's wrongs. He there met an unexpected ally in the person of one Thomas Stukely. He was an Englishman, and his name occurs in the *State Papers* as being one of the two commissioners sent by Sidney (1565) to negotiate with Shane O'Neill. He was favourably spoken of by Shane, and even Cecil is found writing in his favour to Sidney.[13] But he did not continue to merit the esteem of the government authorities, and a little later (1566), grave charges were made against him, and he was summoned to England to make answer, and, being acquitted he was sent back to Ireland, the next year. Later on, he was found buying from pirates and was deprived of his office, and finally (1571), being accused of corresponding with the King of Spain, he consulted his safety by flight, going first to Spain, and afterwards to Rome.[14] While in Ireland he was a Protestant, but in Spain and in Rome he was a Catholic; and the Pope was so favourably impressed with his sincerity and ability, that he resolved to aid Fitzmaurice, fitted up an expedition of 700 men, created Stukely Marquis of

[12] Hamilton's *Calendar*, Vol. II., p. 75.
[13] *Ibid.*, Vol. I., p. 278.
[14] Hamilton's *Calendar*, Vol. I., p. 341.

Leinster, and put him, at Fitzmaurice's request, in supreme command.[15] Two other Englishmen also joined in the expedition, Dr. Allen, a priest, and Dr. Sanders, who from being professor of Oxford, had become Papal Nunico to Spain, and was now ordered by the Pope to proceed to Ireland and instruct and encourage the Irish Catholics.[16] Leaving Stukely to proceed to Lisbon with the Papal troops, Fitzmaurice went to France to see his wife, and then hurried on to Lisbon; but was disgusted to find that Stukely had forgotten his instructions and taken his army elsewhere. He appears to have been of a volatile and adventurous disposition, and when he arrived at Lisbon, the Portuguese King was just on the point of starting on an expedition against the Moors, and invited Stukely to join him; and the newly created Marquis of Leinster accepted the invitation, hoping, perhaps, for more glory and plunder in fighting against the Moors than against the English. But he acquired neither glory nor wealth, and on the field of Alcazar Quiver (September, 1578), Don Sebastian and Stukely both fell, and the whole Christian army was wiped out.[17] This betrayal of one in whom they trusted was in the highest degree exasperating to Sanders and Allen, and, most of all, to Fitzmaurice. But the latter was not easily daunted. He thought of his beloved Munster overrun by the heretic, its churches desecrated, its priests murdered; and he believed if he could only land in Ireland, accompanied as he was by the Pope's Legate, and with the Pope's banner displayed, his army would soon be numerous, and the cause of Catholicity would triumph.

Such a force as that which had perished under Stukely he had no hope of getting together in Spain. He was compelled to content himself with less, and the next year, accompanied by Sanders and Allen, he arrived in Dingle with three vessels, his little army of Spaniards and Italians not being more than 80 fighting men.[18] He immediately issued an appeal to the people, asking them to

[15] *Ibid.*, Vol. II., p. 136.
[16] *Four Masters* at 1581.
[17] Froude's *England*, Vol. X., pp. 268-76. Bagwell, Vol. II., pp. 196-204. Vol. III., p. 7.
[18] Richey, p. 374.

join him, reminding them that he was fighting for the faith, and with the blessing of the Pope, and against a heretic Queen who had usurped the throne, and finally, that those who fell would fall in a glorious cause. As for himself, all his hope was in Jesus and Mary.[19] It was the passionate appeal of a devoted Catholic, but, even in Munster, it fell upon deafened ears. The people would do nothing without their chiefs, and the chiefs would not stir. They were all Catholics; they saw with horror the outrages perpetrated on their faith; experience must have taught them that, as English power advanced in their midst, their own power and privileges would be curtailed, their liberties and their lives would be imperilled, and their religion would be extinguished in blood. But the courage with which men of strong convictions are inspired was not theirs. They wished to resist the English, but were kept back by their mutual jealousies. Personal feelings they had not the patriotism to sacrifice; and, timid, cautious, calculating, distrustful of those about them, they held aloof from Fitzmaurice, and none joined him except John and James Fitzgerald, brothers of the Earl of Desmond. As for the Earl himself, no help could be expected from him. Nature had not given him either courage or capacity, and the weak points of his character had been still further developed by age, and the trials through which he had passed. Feeble, fickle, wavering, and irresolute, he knew not when to form a resolution, nor how to carry it out when formed. He was an earnest Catholic, in entire sympathy with Fitzmaurice; but he had not the courage to follow where his sympathies and convictions led. He wished to preserve his ancient privileges, but he dreaded the wrath of the English, and when Drury entered his territory, he became submissive, and both himself and Drury became friends;[20] and, to stand well in his favour and prove his own loyalty, he handed over to him two ecclesiastics, though he knew Drury to be a cruel man, who had a special horror of friars.[21] Trembling for his enormous possessions, anxious to please the English, yet in sympathy with his countrymen, and their faith, he tried to offend neither side; but he soon found to his

[19] Meehan's *Geraldines*—Appendix.
[20] Hamilton's *Calendar*, Vol. II., pp. 140, 154.
[21] Moran's *Archbishops of Dublin*, pp. 140-1.

cost that the task of serving two masters was impossible, and that whoever tries it will fail.[22]

In the meantime, Fitzmaurice and his allies had entrenched themselves in the fortress of Dunanore, on Smerwick Harbour, and had got the assistance of the O'Flaherties from Connaught, who came by sea with 200 men. Carter, the Provost-Marshal of Munster, and another Englishman named Davels, were sent to induce the Earl of Desmond to attack the invaders; and on their return, they were set upon at Tralee by John of Desmond and murdered, a crime especially atrocious in him to whom Davels had been a close personal friend.[23] The Earl felt that he was suspected of favouring the rebels, and to prove the sincerity of his loyalty, he proceeded to attack them. They then abandoned the fort of Dunanore; the O'Flaherties, disgusted at seeing Munster remain quiet, returned home; and Fitzmaurice and his friends had to split up into different parties, and instead of being conquerors were fugitives. Passing Cahirconlish, Fitzmaurice was attacked by the Burkes of that district, who were not only his co-religionists, but his relatives. But they had as little respect for the claims of kindred as they had for religion, and hoped, no doubt, that their conduct would win the applause of the English. The result of the encounter was that Fitzmaurice was killed, and so also were the two young Burkes. The widow of one of them was rewarded in money by the Queen, because it was her husband who had killed Fitzmaurice; and the father of the Burkes was created Baron of Castleconnell, an honour so unexpected, and which elated him so much, that he almost died with joy.[24] The command of the little army was then taken by John of Desmond, who retired to the wood of Kilmore, in North Cork, hotly pursued by the Deputy Drury. Without waiting to be attacked, the Geraldines became the assailants, and at Springfield, near Limerick, Desmond defeated Drury with the loss of 300 of his troops. The Deputy's health was already bad and this disaster must have hastened his end, for in a few days he died, and was succeeded by Sir William Pelham. At the same

[22] *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, Vol. I., p. 81.
[23] Bagwell, Vol. III., pp. 21-2.
[24] Ware's *Annals*. *Four Masters*. Meehan's *Geraldines*, p. 89.

time, the Irish Council appointed Sir Warham St. Leger, Provost Marshal, and the Earl of Ormond, Governor of Munster. Malbie in the meantime had come from Connaught, and on his march from Limerick to Askeaton, he encountered the victorious John of Desmond. The battle was fought near Croom, and resulted in the complete overthrow of the Geraldines, Dr. Allen being among the slain. Without further interruption, Malbie advanced to Adare, where he awaited the arrival of the Deputy and the Earls of Ormond and Kildare.[25]

During the progress of these events the Earl of Desmond was on every side beset with difficulties. His relatives urged him to join the rebellion, the government to attack the rebels; and he had given earnest of his sincerity in this direction by attacking Fitzmaurice, and by delivering two friars to Drury.[26] He had also handed over his son to the Deputy as a hostage. But he was unwilling to go to the lengths he was requested, and at the battle near Croom he refused to interfere; and then, when Malbie had won, he congratulated him, though his congratulations were coldly received. When Pelham became Deputy, the time for temporising was to cease, and Desmond was peremptorilly required to give up Dr. Sanders, to surrender his fortresses of Carrigfoyle and Askeaton, and to assist Lord Ormond in hunting down and destroying the rebels.[27] These conditions were hard, and it is doubtful if he could have fulfilled them, even if he wished, for Sanders was with John of Desmond, and not with him; Carrigfoyle was not in his possession, and, therefore, not his to give; and he was ready to give up any other of his castles except Askeaton, which was the burial place of his ancestors. He was evidently distrustful of placing himself in the Deputy's power, fearing that he might be put to death, or at least cast into prison; and he had a bitter recollection of his long imprisonment in London. He offered to leave all disputed matters to the Queen, and Pelham promised to give him a licence to go to England, provided he came to his camp. But he gave him only until the following morning to decide what to do, and as the time

[25] *Four Masters*, at 1579.
[26] Hamilton's *Calendar*, Vol. II., p. 189.
[27] *Carew Papers*, Vol. II., p. 160.

passed without Desmond appearing, he was publicly proclaimed a rebel and a traitor. From the *State Papers* it is clear that Pelham was not anxious for peace, and that Desmond was, and could have been won over by kindness. The Queen thought so, and expressed strong disapprobation of the Deputy's hasty action; yet she retained him in office, and after Desmond was proclaimed a rebel, she was as anxious as Pelham himself that the war against him should be prosecuted with vigour.

It was then the close of the year, and, instead of undertaking any operations of importance, Pelham returned to Dublin, and spent the time in perfecting his arrangements, intending to take the field early next year. But meanwhile the Earl of Desmond proclaimed that he had taken up arms for the faith, and had wasted the counties of Limerick and Cork; and his ally, the Earl of Clancarty, burned the town of Kinsale.[28] In retaliation the English marched south to Cork, wasting the territory of Desmond and his friends; arrested and hanged at his own door, the Mayor of Youghal, because it was thought he had betrayed the town to Desmond. By the month of March, the Deputy and Ormond, with all their forces, were assembled at Rathkeale, having come round by way of Wexford and Waterford, and thence by Clonmel to Limerick.[29] The Pale was given in charge to the Earl of Kildare; the Baron of Dungannon was to keep the Ulster chiefs in check; Malbie, leaving Connaught pacified, was to take up his place on Scattery Island, and thus prevent assistance coming to the rebels from Thomond, as well as to secure an uninterrupted passage on the Shannon to the English vessels. Thus protected, Ormond and Pelham divided their forces, Pelham keeping inland, Ormond by the Shannon, and both proceeding westward towards Dingle. Besides this, some English vessels under Admiral Winter were sent to cruise off the coast of Kerry.[30]

Negotiations had been taking place between the Irish and Spain, of which the English had information through their spies. It was expected that if the Spaniards did come, they would land some-

[28] *Carew Papers*, p. 176.
[29] Ware's *Annals*.
[30] *Carew Papers*, pp. 302-4.

where about Dingle, and Pelham's object was to devastate the country through which they might pass, and thus render it impossible for the inhabitants to give them assistance. "If God give us bread," he wrote to the Queen, "we doubt not but to make as bare a country as ever a Spaniard set his foot in." [31] And he was as good as his word. When the castle of Carrigfoyle was taken, the garrison—Spaniards and Irish—were all put to the sword. The terrified troops in the castle of Askeaton deserted it by night, and the place fell into English hands; and in a short space all Desmond's castles were thus abandoned by his friends, and occupied by his foes.[32] That those who were up in arms should be considered traitors, and treated as such, was intelligible. But to Ormond and Pelham this was not enough. The people were Catholics, and probably in secret sympathy with the Spaniards, and this was sufficient crime. All were thus guilty, and none were to be spared, the toddling child, the feeble old man, the blind, the lame, the idiot, the strong man, as well as the weak, the shepherd with no weapon in his hands more dangerous than the shepherd's crook, the rustic who followed the plough, the children who gazed with open eyes at these soldiers, wondering if they were demons or men, the mother, clasping her baby to her breast. It was not war but organized murder. When the soldiers entered a village, the corn in the haggard was burned down, the houses set on fire, and the people, either driven into the flames, or cut down by the sword. Those that fled into the mountains and woods were pursued, their hiding places sought out; they were tracked as sportsmen track the wild beast to his lair, and shot down with as little compunction. In the mountains of Slieve Leuchra, in Kerry every nook and cranny was searched; the soldiers were divided into various bands; and the hunted people who escaped one band, were discovered and massacred by another. When the harvest was ripe the hapless people were prevented from saving it; their cattle were taken, and, pinched with hunger, they followed the soldiers, and offered themselves and their wives and children, to be slain by

[31] *Carew Papers*, p. 220.
[32] *Carew Papers*, p. 257.

them rather than die of famine.[33] Innocence and helplessness did not entitle them to mercy, and none received such except those who had acted as traitors to their own countrymen, who had betrayed their secrets, thwarted their plans, imbrued their hands in their blood, and then, with bloody hands, cast at the feet of the English commanders the heads of those whom they had slain. When they did so they received pardon and grants of lands.[34] To all these horrors Desmond offered no resistance; he fled before his enemies without having the courage to strike a blow. Lords Lixnawe and Clancarty both deserted him; Lord Barry soon followed their example; Lord Roche was acting as a government spy;[35] and when Pelham returned to Limerick, after making Kerry a desert, Desmond had only the aid of his namesake, the Seneschal of Imokilly, and all his followers amounted to 120 gallowglasses, and a few poor wretches, spoiled by the war, who followed his camp for food.[36]

At this stage, Pelham's request to be relieved of office was acceded to, and Lord Grey de Wilton took his place. He found on his arrival at Dublin, that there was rebellion within the Pale itself. Lord Baltinglass, who had protested so vigourously against the cess levied by Sir Henry Sidney, had raised the standard of revolt. He protested, indeed, that he had been unjustly and harshly treated, but he forgot these injuries, and was concerned only to defend the Catholic faith. He did not think it right to accept as the head of his Church a woman who was "incapax of orders"; a woman who for twenty years "had maintained more damnable doctrine, more oppressing of poor subjects, under pretence of justice, within this land, than ever was read or heard done by Christian princes."[37] Of himself he could do nothing, for he had no capacity, and was as ill-fitted to lead as the Earl of Desmond. But he joined his forces to those of Fiach MacHugh O'Byrne, who

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 293.
[34] *Carew Papers*, p. 287. "I do not receive any but such as come in with bloody hands or execution of some better person than themselves." (Pelham to the English Council.)
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 217.
[36] *Ibid.*, p. 305.
[37] *Ibid.*, p. 289.

was also in rebellion, and just then their army lay encamped in the County of Wicklow, in the recesses of Glenmalure. Thither Grey and all his forces marched, anticipating an easy victory. But the valley through which the Avonbeg flows is ill-suited to the military operations of a regular army, and is better suited for guerilla tactics, and especially for those acquainted with the locality. Heavy guns were useless; the boggy nature of the ground rendered it impossible for cavalry to be employed; and only foot soldiers could advance into the glens, and up the wooded sides of the encircling hills. As Grey's infantry advanced, they could see no enemy, and did not know that the enemy was near. Trees had been felled to bar their progress; their march was slow and painful, and suddenly the glen resounded with the rattle of musketry; O'Byrne's men, from behind the shelter of the trees, poured volley after volley into their ranks, and of those who entered the valley but few returned. Sir Peter Carew, and many officers, with 800 of the rank and file, were slain.[38] The cavalry from a short distance off could see the havoc wrought amongst their comrades, but were powerless to lend assistance; and Grey had to return to Dublin, crestfallen and humiliated. Fiach MacHugh followed up his success, and was able to attack and burn with impunity the town of Rathcoole, only six miles from Dublin.[39]

The Deputy would have probably endeavoured to punish him for these outrages; but his urgent attention was demanded elsewhere, for information reached him that 800 Spanish soldiers had landed at Smerwick Harbour, in Kerry; and, mustering all his troops, he marched south, and arrived in Kerry, in November. His army amounted to 800 men; Ormond, who was acting in concert with him, had just twice that amount; and amongst those who accompanied them were Walter Raleigh, who then held the rank of Captain, Edmond Spenser, the poet, who was then acting as secretary to Grey, and Hugh O'Neill, Baron of Dungannon. Admiral Winter was co-operating from the sea; and the Spaniards, who entrenched themselves at Dunanore, were soon assailed both by land and sea. They were well supplied with arms and provisions,

[38] Hamilton's *Calendar*, p. 247. Ware's *Annals*.
[39] *Ibid.*, p. 263.

and under an energetic and skilful commander might have achieved some important success before the arrival of Grey. And such success would have given confidence to the Irish still in arms, and brought many others flocking into their ranks. But the Spanish commander was destitute of capacity. He expected that his arrival would be the signal for the whole country to rise, entirely forgetting that the country had been wasted and destroyed; that many had been put to death; and that those who survived were crushed and dispirited. All the Spanish Commander did from the time of his landing until the guns of Lord Grey sounded in his ears was to attack two castles, neither of which he was able to capture,[40] and this done, he threw up fortifications at Dunanore, and awaited the enemies' attack. Nor did he prolong the defence; but when the outer fortifications were captured, he surrendered, after a defence of but four days. What were the conditions on which the Spaniards surrendered does not appear. Spenser vehemently asserts that they stipulated for nothing, not even for their lives, a story which has not the appearance of truth, as they had plenty of provisions, could hold out for a long time, and might wear out the patience of the besiegers. And what Ware says is equally improbable—that they only cried out for mercy, for by that time they knew the English, and if their lives were not guaranteed they knew they had no mercy to expect; and as soldiers they would naturally have preferred to fight, and if they fell, let them fall, sword in hand. Whatever the conditions were, no sooner were their arms taken from them than they were all butchered, an act of atrocious savagery, which was a disgrace to English arms, which even the barbarous usages of the age could not justify, and which, when it was heard of, excited horror throughout Europe.[40]

The defeat and destruction of the Spaniards was fatal to Desmond and his allies. Baltinglass, for another year, maintained a spasmodic resistance, and then fled to Spain, where he died.[41] Sir James

[40] *Four Masters.* Ware's *Annals. Hollinshed,* pp. 171-2. Hamilton's *Calendar,* p. 267; Spenser's *View*; Froude's *England,* Vol. x., pp. 581-91. Spenser says they had no commission from King or Pope; Grey admits they had from the Pope, though he refused to recognise it. Bagwell, Vol. III., pp. 75-6.

[41] Hamilton, p. 330.

Desmond was captured, brought to Cork, and hanged, drawn and quartered.[42] His brother John continued the struggle more than a year longer; but in some obscure skirmish he was mortally wounded. His head was cut off, and sent as a New Year's gift to the Deputy, who was much rejoiced at this singular gift.[43] For another year, the Seneschal of Imokilly continued in rebellion; but at last he too submitted to Ormond, and had his life spared; and by the middle of 1583 there was not one in rebellion in Munster, except the few who followed Desmond.[44] Nor was there in Leinster, for Fiach MacHugh had laid down his arms, and a little later, gave his uncle and son to the Deputy, as pledges for his future good behaviour.[45]

In the meantime, these wars had still further desolated Munster, for Grey had followed in the footsteps of Pelham, and even exceeded him in barbarity. He believed, or affected to believe, that the Spaniards intended making another descent on Ireland, and in these circumstances the wisest policy, he thought, was to exterminate the inhabitants, and turn Munster into a desert. There was nobody to stay his hand. The natives were powerless, and the Council at Dublin, and the officials throughout the country, fully shared his views. As nature made it, Munster was a beautiful and a fertile land, nor could Grey altogether rob it of its beauty, or undo what nature had done. At the end of his term of office, as at the beginning, the valley of the Lee, and the valley of the Blackwater, remained, with all their wealth of scenic beauty, and so also did the fertility of the Golden Vale; the Maigue and the Deel still poured their waters into the Shannon; and the Shannon itself, "spreading like a sea," was lost in the immensity of the ocean; neither Mangerton nor Mount Brandan were diminished; the purple heather still bloomed upon the hills of Kerry, and in the sheltered recesses of Killarney the arbutus grew. But it was because the works of nature are too great to be destroyed by the hand of man, for everything which Grey could destroy had

[42] Hamilton's *Calendar*, p. 259.
[43] *Ibid.*, p. 340.
[44] *Ibid.*, p. 452.
[45] *Ibid.*, p. 521.

disappeared. Villages and towns were gone; the church and the castle were alike unsightly ruins; the poor man's cottage was but a heap of ashes; there was no corn in the haggard, nor crops in the fields, nor cattle, nor sheep; the streets were deserted and silent, where, but late, the little children laughed and played; and the unburied corpses by the wayside told their own mournful tale. In the wake of war, famine and pestilence followed, and struck down those whom the rope, or the sword, or the torch had spared; in Cork, a small town of only one street, and less than a quarter of a mile in length, the daily death-roll was 70;[46] cattle and sheep and pigs were all killed and consumed; poultry and butter were impossible to get throughout Munster; and in that province, within six months, there died of famine alone 30,000 human beings. Such was the utter destruction of everything that the wild beasts were found starved in their dens. Desolation brooded over the land; and from the Rock of Cashel westward to the sea it was impossible to hear the low of a cow, or the sound of a ploughboy's whistle.[47] Here and there the English saw creeping out of the woods, what could hardly be called living human beings; they were better described by Spenser as anatomies of death, "ghosts crying from their graves."[48] They were unable to walk, but only crept on their hands and feet. Their faces were pallid, their lips bloodless, their eyes sunken, their bones without flesh, their voices a hoarse whisper. A plot of cresses when they found they flocked to as to a feast; they pulled the carcasses out of their graves and scraped the bones; and when one of themselves died the survivors greedily fell upon him and devoured him. Amid such scenes of horror the voice of humanity was silenced, and the instincts of the brute had become supreme. Without doubt, Grey had pacified Munster, but it is the peace which the desert knows; he had conquered it for the Queen, but Her Majesty had nothing to reign over but carcasses, and ashes, and wasted fields.[49]

Not in Munster alone did his brutality appear. On mere

[46] Hamilton's *Calendar*, pp. 361-2.
[47] *Four Masters*. Spenser's *Faery Queen*, Book III., Chapter 3.
[48] Spenser's *View*.
[49] *Hollinshed*, p. 177. Bagwell, Vol. III., pp. 97-8.

suspicion he arrested a number of supposed rebels within the Pale (1581), and sent 45 of them to the scaffold.[50] Lord Delvin and the Earl of Kildare he also threw into prison, thinking that they had favoured Baltinglass in his rebellion.[51] But it was dangerous to hang such influential persons without evidence, and instead of having them tried and condemned in Ireland, they were sent to England, where they were acquitted. It may be assumed they did not fail to speak much of Grey's cruelties, which had left the country more disturbed than ever. To have the very name of an Englishman hated, and Munster a desolate waste were, after all, but poor achievements, and redounded little to the honour or profit of the Queen. And her displeasure was shown by recalling the obnoxious Deputy (1582), and appointing two Lords Justices, Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin, and Wallop, the Treasurer for War, who were to carry on the Irish government until a new Deputy should be appointed.

More merciful than Grey these Lord Justices were to be, except to ecclesiastics; towards these severity was to be continued. The Pope was considered by Elizabeth her greatest enemy. He had aided Fitzmaurice and Stukely, prompted the King of Spain to help them, granted an indulgence to those who were fighting in Desmond's rebellion, because they were fighting the battle of the faith. The priests and bishops were his accredited agents, and when they were captured, either under the Lord Justices, or under their predecessors, they were treated with savage cruelty. In August, 1579, Dr. O'Hely, Bishop of Mayo, and a Franciscan priest named O'Rourke fell into the hands of Drury at Kilmallock. They did not deny their calling; and Drury had them first put on the rack, their arms and legs broken with hammers, needles thrust under their nails, after which they were hanged.[52] At Armagh, a Franciscan was taken by the soldiers, and, after being scourged, was hanged with the cincture of his religious habit; at Moyne, in Mayo, Father O'Dowd, for refusing to reveal the secrets of the confessional, had the cord of his habit tied round his head, and

[50] Hamilton's *Calendar*, pp. 329, 359.
[51] *Ibid.*, pp. 275, 290.
[52] Moran's *Archbishops*, p. 140.

squeezed, until his eyes burst from their sockets; at Bantry (1580), two priests were brought to a high rock, then tied back to back, and hurled into the waves beneath.[53] The tortures inflicted by Wallop and Loftus on Dr. O'Hurley were fully equal to the worst of these, and could hardly be surpassed. He was the Catholic Archbishop of Cashel, and being arrested in 1583, he was thrown into a darkened room, and kept there until the Holy Thursday of the following year, when he was brought before the Lords Justices. He was asked to take the Oath of Supremacy, and promised pardon if he did, and when he refused, he was thrown on the ground, tied to the trunk of a tree, his hands and body chained, his feet thrust into tin boots, which were filled with salt, butter, oil, turpentine, and pitch; then, his feet were placed on a grate under which a fire was kindled, and for an hour this torture was continued, until large pieces of the flesh melted, and the bones were exposed; after which he was again thrown into a darkened cell. As he was still steadfast in his faith, he was taken out, on the 6th of May following, and hanged.[54]

The laity were treated with greater leniency; even those who had been in open rebellion were pardoned, on promising to be faithful subjects, all but the Earl of Desmond, to whom no mercy was to be shown. His wife had often pleaded on his behalf, but she could get no terms for him. He should submit unconditionally, and this he was unwilling to do, as he felt that his fate would be, either instant execution or perpetual imprisonment, and he dreaded one as much as the other. And so, up to November, 1583, he lived the life of an outlaw, tracked from one place to another. His friend Dr. Sanders had died, in 1581—the hardships of his life had killed him—his followers deserted him or were killed; and at last he had as his companions but one priest, two horsemen, one kern, and a boy.[55] Where he cooked his food, he was afraid to remain to eat it, for the soldiers were ever on his track; he did not know where to stay or whom to trust.[56] Once he escaped in his shirt, and

[53] Moran, pp. 142-3
[54] *Ibid*, pp. 133-5.
[55] Hamilton's *Calendar*, p. 453.
[56] *Ibid.*, p. 448.

himself and his wife had to remain for hours under the sheltering banks of a river, plunged up to their necks in water. In November, 1583, they were in the west of Kerry. His followers had taken some cows from a petty chief named Moriarty, and killed them for food; and Moriarty, wishing to be revenged, as well as to curry favour with the government, collected some followers and pursued the Earl to Glanageenty, five miles from Tralee. As they approached with stealthy tread, and in darkness, they found that in the valley was a hut in which a light shone, and in which, without doubt, the Earl and his followers were, and carefully watching until day broke, they rushed in. But they found only a venerable old man, a woman, and a boy. The remainder had escaped. A man named Kelly, with a blow of his sword, broke the old man's arm, and he piteously cried out "Spare me, I am the Earl of Desmond." Kelly's answer was a further blow, with which he struck off the Earl's head. It was sent as a gift to the Queen, who had it put up on London Bridge; and so well pleased was she with Kelly, that she ordered her well-beloved "subject and soldier Daniel Kelly," to have for 30 years, without fine, so much of her lands, spiritual and temporal, as should amount to £30 per year.[57] But if he won the esteem of the Queen he lost that of his countrymen, and both his name, and that of Moriarty, were long execrated in Kerry.[58]

[57] Meehan's *Geraldines*, p. 123.

[58] *Four Masters. Hollinshed*, pp. 179-80. Bagwell, Vol. III., pp. 113-14. Froude's *England*, Vol. X., pp. 609-15.

CHAPTER VII.

Perrott and FitzWilliam.

In the month of June, 1584, a new Deputy, Sir John Perrott, arrived in Dublin. As President of Munster, he was already known to be harsh and even cruel to those who broke the law: but he had a sense of justice and fair-play, and did not believe in driving the Irish to desperation by aimless persecution. His object was to have the whole country obedient to English law, to have all the people loyal subjects of the Queen. And the outlook was then promising, for the various provinces were peaceable, and nowhere was there any disposition to challenge the supremacy of England. Munster was so exhausted that the whole province was kept in order by only 200 English troops. [1]

The three most powerful men in Ulster, the Baron of Dungannon, Turlogh Lynnagh, and O'Donnell, had referred all their disputes to the Queen's Commissioners and were ready to abide by their decision. [2] In Leinster, Fiach MacHugh was still strong, but the district over which he ruled was small, and he had no hope of extending its bounds, and resisted the English army only when he was assailed. The O'Connors and O'Mores had been crushed and cowed by repeated defeats, nor could their surviving chiefs agree. And when two of the O'Connors quarrelled, they came to Dublin, and, before the Deputy and Council, settled their dispute by wager of battle. Armed with swords and targets, they fought like madmen,

[1] Cox, p. 568.
[2] *Carew Papers*, pp. 366-7.

hacking and wounding and maiming each other, until at last one of them fell to the ground exhausted, and had his head cut off by his antagonist, who presented it to the Deputy. "And I would," said one of the spectators, Fenton, "that Her Majesty had the same end of all the O'Connors in Ireland." [3]

In Connaught, the English governor, Brabazon, held sessions at Roscommon (1582), and was able to march through Tyrawley unmolested, and even to waste it, as did Malbie the country round Westport, in the following year. [4]

Among the instructions given to Perrott, he was directed to consider how Munster was to be repeopled, and the lands, forfeited by rebels, to be disposed of with most advantage to the Queen; to ascertain what was the condition of the other provinces as well; to encourage the loyal, and to protect the rebels who had been pardoned; but, at the same time, to allow none of them to keep arms except a sword and dagger. [5] Finally, he was to appoint Sir Richard Bingham, President of Connaught and John Norris President of Munster. To obtain his information at first hand, and to make proper provision for the government of Connaught and Munster, Perrott made a circuit of the country. He appointed sheriffs in the various counties of Connaught, and, passing on to Galway, he entered Clare, where he cruelly tortured and executed one Donogh O'Brien. A relative of the Earl of Thomond, he had for some time disturbed the peace of Clare, and in consequence was arrested by the sheriff and kept in prison. By Perrott's orders, he was led forth, hanged from a car, then taken down alive, his bones broken with the back of a heavy axe, and in this mangled condition, though he still lived, he was tied with ropes at the top of the steeple of Quin church, and left there to die. [6] At Limerick, Perrott would have made a longer stay; but messengers arrived informing him that a large number of Scots had just come to Ulster, at the invitation of Sorley Boy, and it was necessary to chastise them. On this expedition the Deputy was aided by many from Munster

[3] *Carew Papers*, pp. 361-2.
[4] *Four Masters.*
[5] Cox, pp. 368-70.
[6] *Four Masters*, at 1584.

and Leinster, and in Ulster by the Baron of Dungannon; he also received pledges of good behaviour from Fiach MacHugh, and from the Kavanaghs and O'Tooles. He marched north in two divisions, one on each side of the Bann; and soon Clannaboy was overrun, and O'Cahan and Sorley Boy were in a repentant and submissive mood. Some of the Scots had gone round to Lough Foyle, and were pursued by some English vessels, and with difficulty escaped to Scotland. Turlogh Lynnagh then submitted, and delivered up as prisoner a son of Shane O'Neill; Magennis and MacMahon put in pledges; O'Donnell remained unshaken in his loyalty; O'Neill of Clannaboy surrendered half his territory; an English garrison was left at Coleraine; the Ulster chiefs agreed to maintain 1,100 fighting men for the Queen; and leaving Ulster thus settled and peaceable, Perrott returned to Dublin. [7]

The next year, a Parliament was held in Dublin. In the House of Commons, 27 counties were represented, which were all the counties then formed, for part of Ulster was not yet shire ground. In addition, 36 cities and boroughs sent representatives. Some of the members of Parliament were government officials, such as Bingham and St. Leger and Norris; the majority were of English descent, as indicated by their names; but a few had unmistakably Irish names, such as O'Reilly and O'Farrell and O'Brien. The native chiefs also came to Dublin, and though they did not sit in Parliament as members, and had, therefore, no legislative power, they acquiesced in what was done, and bound themselves, like faithful subjects of the Queen, to respect the enactments made. Turlogh Lynnagh was there, and so was O'Donnell and Magennis and MacMahon, and O'Neill of Clannaboy. From Connaught came the O'Connors, and MacDermott, and O'Kelly, and from the desolate region of Iar Connaught came its chief, O'Flaherty. And the MacCarthys and O'Sullivans came from Munster; while from Leinster came MacGeoghegan and O'Mulloy, and—most dreaded of all—Fiach MacHugh O'Byrne from his mountain home in Glenmalure.[8]

[7] Cox, pp. 380-2.

[8] *Four Masters.* Hardiman's *Statute of Kilkenny.* Bagwell, Vol. III., pp. 140-1.

The Deputy wished to have Poyning's Act suspended, that the Parliament might act more expeditiously. But the members were not in a complying mood; they were in no hurry to legislate; they would not enact it treason for anyone to seize any of the Queen's castles, as Perrott wished; and in the session of 1585, little was done except to attaint Lord Baltinglass of high treason; nor was it without some opposition that, in the next year, they attainted the Earl of Desmond, and, by consequence, confiscated to the Crown his lands, and the lands of those who had been his accomplices in rebellion. [9]

A commission had been sitting in the meantime to inquire into the condition of Munster, to ascertain what were the lands held by rebels, what by loyal subjects, what by rebels who had been pardoned, and what by the crown; and with the information obtained by this inquisition, and armed with the Act of Attainder against Desmond, the government was prepared to set about the settlement of Munster. An enormous amount of land was at the Queen's disposal, for the Earl of Desmond was master of nearly 600,000 acres. [10] The anxiety of the Queen was that these lands should be inhabited exclusively by English-born; and, to have this accomplished, proclamations were issued by England, inviting the younger sons of the landed gentry to go to Ireland and get lands. [11] The amount they were to receive varied from 4,000 acres to 12,000 acres, and each was to plant his lands with English-born farmers and cottiers in proportion to the number of acres he had received. [12] Ample information was supplied as to the number of servants they required, the wages to be given them, the kind of stock most suitable for the land, the crops to be sown, the probable total cost, and the probable profits. The Undertakers, as they came to be called, were to pay to the government a head-rent of threepence an acre for the lands in Limerick and Kerry, and only twopence for the lands in Cork and Waterford, and they were to be rent free until March, 1590; for three years sub-

[9] Cox, pp. 383-4.
[10] *Ibid*, p. 392.
[11] *Carew Papers*, p. 419.
[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 412-13.

sequent only half rent was to be paid; for ten years their imports to and their exports from England were free; they were freed from cess for ever; they were to be protected by English garrisons placed in their midst; and government commissions were to decide all their controversies. Among the first Undertakers were Sir Walter Raleigh, who got 12,000 acres in Cork and Waterford and had his residence at Youghal; Sir Warham St. Leger got 6,000 acres in Cork; Sir Thomas Norris a like amount in the same county; the Earl of Ormond got 3,000 acres in Tipperary; and, at Kilcoleman Castle, picturesquely situated in North Cork, was Edmond Spenser, the poet, with 3,000 acres as his share. [13]

With the natives the Undertakers were to have no communication. They were not to intermarry with them, nor have them upon their lands as tenants, or employ them in any, even the most menial capacity. [14] The hope of the Queen and her ministers was that they would soon disappear; they would be either starved or driven into foreign lands. Spenser's suggestions were that the garrisons placed in Munster were to give them no rest; they were to drive them from place to place, never allowing them breathing space. And the better plan was to make ceaseless war on them in the winter, when the trees were bare and naked, and therefore unable to afford them shelter; when the ground was cold and wet and unfit to be their bed; when the air was sharp and bitter to blow through their naked sides and legs. Their cattle were then of little use. If they killed them they would yield but little flesh, as they were thin and spare; if they kept them they would yield but little milk, because, being chased and driven incessantly, they would cast their calves and lose their milk. [15] These suggestions were not adopted. The English authorities had had enough of murder; and in reckless extermination of the people, they found there was neither profit nor glory. Nor did the prospects held out to the younger sons of the English gentry attract many. They preferred the security of their native country to the uncertainties and dangers of Irish life; or if they must go from home they

[13] Cox, p. 392.
[14] *Carew Papers*, pp. 419-20.
[15] Spenser's *View*, pp. 160-1.

preferred to seek their fortunes in other lands. Not more than half of Desmond's lands were taken up by English; for the remainder no Undertakers could be found; and they were reluctantly abandoned to the natives. And the Undertakers who did settle in Munster failed to plant the stipulated number of English on their estates. Perhaps they could not get farmers or labourers to come from England, or perhaps they found it easier to manage Irish tenants. At all events, they took Irish tenants and employed Irish labourers, and the effect of all these attempted changes was to have the farmers and labourers Irish and Catholic, and the landlords of half the confiscated lands English and Protestant. The arrangement was not a happy one, nor likely to work without friction. But, for a time at least, there was no danger of serious disturbance. The Undertakers received their rents and enjoyed their privileges; the Irish ploughed and sowed and reaped, and were tolerated; and Munster, so long wasted by war, settled down to a few years of peace.

Far different was the condition of Connaught under the rule of Bingham. When Sidney visited the province, in 1576, and talked with the lords and chiefs, he felt convinced that the origin of all their ruin was the uncertain grant and unstable possession of their lands; it was this which led to so many wars. To substitute the certain and well-defined English system of tenure for this uncertain and contentious system would be, he thought, a great improvement, and he began by establishing counties and appointing sheriffs. He had also induced the chiefs to surrender their lands to the Queen, and then get them back by letters patent and hold them by English tenure; but before this arrangement was carried out, his term of office expired.[16] Nearly ten years later, these changes were effected under Sir John Perrott. For this purpose he summoned the Connaught chiefs to Dublin, in 1585. Each of them surrendered all the lands upon which he dwelt, or which he cultivated, or over which he exercised any authority, or from which he derived any income, and received them back from the crown to be held by knight's service. Some

[16] O Flaherty's *Iar Connaught*, p. 299.

portion of land was given to each chief as his demesne, and freed from rent or cess of any kind; for the remainder he paid a crown rent of one penny for each acre. He was also liable to military service, when called on by the government, and the amount of his contribution was fixed. The lesser chiefs were entirely freed from any contribution to the greater chiefs, and they too received as demesne lands a certain amount, free of all rent; for the remaining lands they paid the same amount as did the greater chiefs. [17] Their right to levy contributions at will on the people under their rule was taken away. They could no longer compel them to work for nothing, nor contribute cattle or corn, nor entertain them at their houses, nor feast their servants, nor feed their horses or dogs; nor could they, when in a warlike mood, compel them to rob a neighbouring clan or sept of its cattle, and lay waste its fields. Tanistry was abolished, and the inheritance from father to son took its place; the Brehon's occupation ceased, and henceforth it was to be English and not Brehon law. These revolutionary changes were known as the Composition of Connaught; and each chief abandoned his old privileges and rights and accepted his new position by an instrument called the Indenture of Composition.

To adjust the various claims and make out Indentures of Composition, a government Commission was appointed, of which Bingham was the head, and of which the Earls of Thomond were members. [18] Not all the chiefs had yet acquiesced in these sweeping changes; and the Commissioners were to travel through Connaught; call to them the various chiefs; and induce them to accept the Composition. Tact and prudence and patience would have gone far, and if the views of the majority of the Commissioners had been accepted, this course of conduct would have been followed. But Bingham would not be controlled. Arrogant, overbearing, arbitrary, he flouted the Commissioners, or intimidated them; his nature was cruel, and even bloodthirsty; he scorned to show kindness to the natives, and placed more reliance on severity, on hangings, confiscations and breaches of faith. [19] When the Spaniards were murdered

[17] *Carew Papers*, pp. 393-4.
[18] *O'Connors* of *Connaught*, pp. 193-4.
[19] *O'Connors of Connaught*, p. 198.

at Dunanore, he aided Raleigh in butchering them, and earned the encomiums of Lord Grey,[20] and in Connaught, he was as little disposed to mercy as in Munster. When Mahon O'Brien of Clare showed some reluctance to accept the Composition, Bingham attacked him and captured his castle, and when the garrison surrendered, expecting at least that their lives would be spared, Bingham put every man of them to death, and, at a sessions in Galway, he had 70 persons hanged, some of them women and children.[21] In Mayo, he held sessions at Donamona. and when one of the Burkes refused to come there and submit he had him attacked in his fortified castle on Lough Mask. He failed at first to capture it, and raised the seige, and the Burkes escaped. In revenge, Bingham returned and destroyed the castle, pursued the Burkes with fire and sword, executed all of them he could lay his hands on, and desolated the lands of all their followers.[22]

Not wishing to have the horrors of Munster repeated, Perrott commanded Bingham to make terms with the Burkes, if they submitted, a command which he was bound to respect, but of which he so much disapproved, that he went to Dublin to complain before the Council.

For a short time only he was held in check. The Burkes remained away—they were afraid to trust him—and Bingham, on his part first executed all their friends whom he had as hostages, and then hunted themselves down, killed 120 of them, and captured from them about 5,000 cattle, which he divided among his own soldiers. Burke of Castlebar submitted; but instead of being pardoned he was hanged, so that "Her Majesty would have his lands by escheat"; his allies also put in pledges, but they were "so ghasted with fear that they looked rather like ghosts than men.[23] At this juncture, an army of near 2,000 Scots came from Ulster to Connaught, being invited by some of the Burkes. Bingham, who was aided by the Earl of Clanricarde, came up with them on the banks of the Moy, just as they were crossing into Mayo, and entirely unaware that he

[20] Hamilton's *Calendar*, Vol. II., Introduction—Grey to the Queen.
[21] *Four Masters* at 1586.
[22] *Carew Papers*, pp. 430-1.
[23] *Carew Papers*, p. 432.

was near. They were attacked, at three in the morning, and offered but little resistance; and Captain Wodehouse, writing to Secretary Fenton told him that he was "never so weary with killing of men." He houghed them and punched them; when they ran away he pursued them and cut them down; and Bingham gloated over the fact that 1500 men had been killed, and that the women and children killed were as many more. [24]

When Bingham first came to Connaught there was little disturbance in the province. The old Earl of Clanricarde was dead; his sons had ceased their quarrel; for the younger son had fallen in battle, and Ulick was now the Earl, and, having got all he contended for, was a loyal subject of the Queen. MacWilliam Burke, who was friendly to England, was succeeded in the title of MacWilliam by Richard Burke, Richard of the Iron, as he was called, a restless and ambitious man. But he too had just died, and his wife, well known as Grace O'Malley, or Granuaile, ruled triumphant over the whole western coast, and was able to defeat, in a naval battle, the sheriff of Galway and all his forces, off her castle near Newport; [25] but she too had grown peaceable, and ceased to give trouble either on land or sea. The O'Connors were quiet, and so were the O'Flaherties in their wild western territory of Iar Connaught. In two years Bingham had the province in a blaze. Those who offered the least resistance to anything he suggested he hunted down, wasted their lands and crops, drove away their cattle, murdered any of their relatives who might be sureties in his hands; [26] and even the chiefs who submitted and professed their loyalty he cast into prison and left there. [27]

If Connaught was to be deluged in blood, its chiefs killed, its people robbed, the innocent confounded with the guilty, even the loyal disquieted and driven to desperation by senseless severity,

[24] *O'Connors of Connaught*, pp. 198-9.

[25] *Four Masters* at 1580 and 1583. Hardiman's *History of Galway*, p. 86.

[26] *O'Connors of Connaught*, p. 208. He executed at Ballinrobe three of the Burkes, one fourteen years, another nine, another seven, and when the eldest child asked for a priest, he was refused. One of the little ones wept, but the other consoled him by saying that they would soon be in a better world.

[27] *Annals of Loch Ce*, 1587.

then, Bingham was a suitable governor, and his government was a success. But a province kept in perpetual turmoil, where English law was known, not for its justice, but for its severity and its cruelty, was not what Perrott wished. He remonstrated with Bingham, he threatened, he commanded, and finding it impossible to restrain him, dismissed him from his office.[27] He was sent on some mission to the Low Countries, and for a time at least, Connaught was relieved from his barbarities.

In Ulster there was peace and the prospect was that it would continue. The Scotch King had assured Perrott (1585), that he would prohibit the MacDonnells of the Isles from making raids into the province, and would hold them guilty of high treason if they did.[28] O'Reilly of Cavan was an English knight, having an English sheriff exercising jurisdiction in Cavan. Turlogh Lynnagh O'Neill was old, and was a personal friend of the Deputy, and from him nothing was to be feared. Since he helped to crush Shane O'Neill, Sir Hugh O'Donnell had been in constant friendship with the government at Dublin, and had received English soldiers in Tyrconnell, and undertaken to maintain them at his own expense. But when he found that these soldiers had become disorderly and were passing beyond his control he went to Dublin and had them removed. Henceforth, he was to pay a yearly tribute of fat beeves; but, lest there should be any doubt of his loyalty, he was to deliver hostages, who were to be kept in Her Majesty's Castle at Dublin.[29] Nor was it likely that Hugh O'Neill of Tyrone would give trouble. In his youth he had been brought up in England, in the house of Sir Henry Sidney, and in his manners and education was more English than Irish. As Baron of Dungannon, he aided Ormond and Pelham against the Munster Geraldines, and his services were rated so high that he got command of a troop of horse in the Queen's pay, and had a yearly pension of 100 marks.[30] As a temporal peer, he had sat in Perrott's Parliament, and had his claim recognised there to the Earldom of Tyrone. And when he went to England, such

[27] *Annals of Loch Ce*, 1587.
[28] *Carew Papers*, p. 404.
[29] *Carew Papers*, p. 444.
[30] Cox, p. 389.

was the favour with which the Queen received him, that she confirmed him in his title (1587), gave him all Tyrone as his inheritance, stipulating only that one or two places should be reserved for English forts, that the sons of Shane O'Neill, as well as Turlogh Lynnagh, should be provided for, and that he should levy no cess on any other Ulster chiefs.[31] Her Majesty wrote to the Deputy that she was entirely satisfied with his loyal disposition;[32] and her good opinion seemed justified, for the Earl, like a dutiful subject, complained, at a later date, of the lawlessness of Turlogh Lynnagh's sons, and stating that they kept in their service "some bad men" who were a perpetual menace to the peace of Ulster.[33]

From one quarter, and an unexpected one, Perrott feared some trouble. He proposed sending a sheriff to Tyrconnell, but Hugh O'Donnell refused to admit him. He was willing to be a subject of England; but not willing to abandon his ancient privileges; to have his territory turned into shire ground; to have English laws administered there and to be himself answerable to these laws; to have the churches destroyed and the monasteries suppressed, and the priests banished or murdered. He was a Catholic, and as yet the churches and monasteries remained, and the priests said their Masses as of old in the sheltered glens of Tyrconnell. When Perrott brought the matter before the Council of Dublin, the members were puzzled what to do. Many of the Queen's troops had gone to the war in Flanders, and the army in Ireland was not sufficient to crush O'Donnell; and if force was attempted it was not unlikely he might be aided by the Earl of Tyrone, who had lately married his daughter, and whose loyalty was already beginning to be suspected. Perrott proposed that the matter be left in his own hands. He had a plan, and if he could carry it out, he thought the peace of Tyrconnell and of Ulster would be secure. A few weeks later, a fast sailing merchant vessel, laden with Spanish wine, and flying the English ensign, sailed up Lough Swilly and cast anchor at Rathmullen. Adjacent to the

[31] Ware's *Annals*, 1587.
[32] *Carew Papers*, p. 408.
[33] *Ibid.*, pp. 466-7.

shore was the Carmelite monastery, a favourite resort of many pilgrims from Innishowen and Tyrconnell; and amongst those then at Rathmullen was O'Donnell's son, Red Hugh, and his friend MacSweeney of the Battleaxes. Those who went on board the vessel reported that the wine was good and the master of the ship courteous, and O'Donnell sent a messenger to purchase some of the wine thus so loudly praised. His messenger was regretfully informed that but little wine remained; no more could be sold; but that, if he and his friends would come on board, the master and his officers would be glad to entertain them. Young and unsuspicious, O'Donnell and MacSweeney did so, and soon drank the wine to excess. Their arms were taken from them, the hatches closed down, the sails set, the vessel's prow turned to the open sea, and in a few days the young chief and his friend were secured as prisoners in Dublin Castle. [34]

Thus was Perrott's plan carried out, a plan unworthy of his character, as it was unworthy of any man of honour. But, for the time at least, he was pleased, and thought he had done well. Young O'Donnell was already remarkable for his vigour and capacity. When he got older he would be unlikely to follow in his father's footsteps and continue his subservience to England; but he could do nothing in Dublin Castle; nor would his father or Tyrone disturb the peace of Ulster, knowing that such conduct would involve the young chieftain's death.

Perrott's greatest trouble came from the members of the Irish Council. Their selfishness and their intrigues he despised; their desire to wipe out the natives he did not share but rather actively opposed; and the Council, or a majority of them, plotted his ruin. They supported Bingham against him; and when he wished to take command in person of the army in Connaught they refused him the necessary permission. Archbishop Loftus was not pleased that he did not take more vigorous measures against the Catholics; the Earl of Ormond was his personal enemy; and at the Council table at Dublin, Marshall Bagenal called him a liar and a

[34] Ware's *Annals* at 1588. *Loch Ce* and *Four Masters* at 1587 O'Clery's *Life of Red Hugh*, p. 7. *Life of Sir John Perrott*, pp. 278-80.

drunkard. Many false reports were sent against him to England, even forgery was resorted to, and a letter was sent to the Queen in Turlogh Lynnagh's name, which, when Turlogh heard of, he very promptly disowned.[35] This incessant plotting worried the Deputy. His health was bad, his temper was soured; he had several times asked to be recalled, and at last his request was acceded to. He left Dublin (1588), to the regret of all the Irish, both within and without the Pale. On his way to the seaside, the streets were crowded by people who had come out to bid him farewell, and such was the crowd that he could scarcely pass. Turlogh Lynnagh accompanied him to the boat and shed tears when the ship set sail; and the city of Dublin sent with him a guard of honour, who accompanied him to his castle in Pembrokeshire.[36]

His successor was Sir William Fitzwilliam. During his former term of office he had given little evidence of capacity, and it seemed strange that such a man should be re-appointed. He had not a single quality that entitled him to respect. He was entirely destitute of principle, observed no treaties, kept no promises, was cruel and treacherous and avaricious; and it was remarked that no Deputy ever kept so mean a Christmas at Dublin. Equally unhappy was the re-appointment of Sir Richard Bingham. He had inveighed with bitterness against Perrott, considering his own cruelties in Connaught highly meritorious, and deserving a better reward than to be relegated to Flanders; but when Perrott was in disgrace his accuser recovered the ground he had lost. Fitzwilliam was unable or unwilling to curb him, and the result was that Connaught was soon in a ferment. Nor did Bingham wish it otherwise. He had a number of relatives who came with him to the west, needy and poor, adventurers in search of lands; and if the chiefs of Connaught rebelled their estates would be forfeited, and the Binghams would get a share of the spoils. On some pretext, the son of MacDermott and the son of O'Connor Roe were hanged at Galway (1588); the district of Erris in Mayo

[35] Ware's *Annals* at 1587. Cox, p. 397. *Carew Papers*, p. 442.
[36] *Ibid* at 1588.

was overrun by the sheriff; Bingham's brother John plundered all North Connaught; and the *Annals of Loch Ce* declare that he kept faith with nobody, either in Church or State. When O'Connor Sligo died, his lands were seized by Sir Richard on the ground that the heir was illegitimate; and when a commission was appointed and declared that he was the rightful heir, Bingham could hardly be persuaded to resign the lands he had seized.[37] He had goaded O'Rorke and O'Connor Roe into rebellion, and protested to Secretary Walsingham that the rebels in Connaught could never be drawn by fair means into a loyal peace; that O'Rorke was the cause of all the mischief; and that, "while this man is suffered to hold out, there will be no peace in Connaught." As for the Burkes and the O'Flaherties, they trembled for their properties and for their lives.[38]

These events induced the Deputy to go to Galway, where he met the O'Flaherties and the Burkes, and made terms with them. They convinced him that there never would be peace in Connaught under Bingham. But in dealing with one they could trust they were not unreasonable or refractory; and they bound themselves to deliver sureties for keeping the peace; to make satisfaction for any spoils they had committed, and to pay such fines as the Deputy should lay upon them.[39] Such a peace was highly distasteful to Bingham, and but a short time elapsed until he attacked O'Connor, wasted Tyrawley, and so harassed O'Rorke and desolated his territory, that the unfortunate chief fled for protection to Scotland. But, with a meanness not often equalled, the Scotch King delivered him over to the English authorities, and he was brought to London and executed there. He pleaded for no mercy, and made only a request that he should be hanged, as was done in his own country, with a wythe.[40] Such cruelties exasperated the Connaught chiefs. On all sides there was discontent and distrust of the English; there was no security of

[37] *Annals of Loch Ce*, 1588-9; *Four Masters*; *O'Connors of Connaught*, pp. 203-4.
[38] *O'Connors of Connaught*, p. 205.
[39] *Carew Papers*, Vol. III., pp. 7-8.
[40] Cox, p. 399.

property or life; each felt that the fate of O'Rorke might soon be his own; and, if but a capable native chief arose, it was evident that they would follow his lead and chase Bingham and his marauders from the province.

The area of discontent was soon extended by the conduct of the Deputy. The Invincible Armada, which was to have conquered England for Spain, was scattered by the winds, and several of the vessels were wrecked along the Irish coast.[41] The report that they contained treasure roused the cupidity of Fitzwilliam, and it was partly to have a share of it that he went to Galway. He found none, and in revenge he compelled the natives to deliver up all the Spaniards whom they had sheltered; and everyone of these foreigners he instantly put to death, amid the murmurs and lamentations of the people.[42] Still hoping for Spanish treasure, the Deputy went to Ulster, where, off the coast of Sligo and Donegal, other Spanish ships had been wrecked; but again he was doomed to disappointment, for no treasure was to be found. There was no need to repeat the executions of Galway, for this had been done by the Irish chiefs themselves; and in Tyrconnell the shipwrecked Spaniards who were cast, famished and hungry, on its coasts, were hunted down by old O'Donnell, and everyone he laid hands on was put to death.[43] O'Rorke had the chivalry to give these men relief, and this was one of the reasons why he was assailed so bitterly by Bingham, as it was one of the accusations laid to his charge in London. But if Fitzwilliam could not capture Spanish coin and execute Spanish soldiers, he was determined to do some notable exploit, and he brought away with him two chiefs, O'Gallagher and O'Doherty, of all the Irish the best affected to the government, and threw them into Dublin Castle. O'Doherty was kept in prison for two years, nor was he then released but by bribing the corrupt Deputy; O'Gallagher was not released until the Deputy left Ireland.[44] In a dispute between the MacMahons of Farney, one of them, Hugh Roe, purchased the favour of Fitzwilliam

[41] *Carew Papers*, Vol. II., p. 472.
[42] Hardiman's *Galway*, p. 93. Froude's *England*, Vol. XII., pp. 444-53.
[43] Cuellar's *Narrative*. Bagwell, III., 190-1.
[44] Fynes Moryson, p. 8. Ware's *Annals*, at 1589. *Carew Papers*, p. 13.

by a bribe of 600 cows. A decision was given in his favour, and Fitzwilliam went north to instal him in his new possessions. But a charge was trumped up against him that he had levied forces and made war, two years before; a jury was impanelled, and on this charge he was convicted and hanged before his own door; and the lands so lately assigned to him were now divided between Sir Henry Bagenal, Captain Henshaw, and four of the MacMahons, by every one of whom Fitzwilliam had been bribed.[45] He notified Maguire of Fermanagh that he was about sending a sheriff to his territory; but that chief bribed him and was assured that no sheriff would be sent; yet, in defiance of this promise, a sheriff was sent, who brought with him 300 of the scum of creation and who lived on the plunder of the people.[46] Everywhere it was the same. No one could trust the Deputy, no one was safe with him; the chief friendly to England had no more security than the rebel; the soldiers were not regularly paid, and at Dublin they mutinied, while all over the country they lived at free quarters.[47] The old exactions of Coshery and Bonnaght were as nothing to these multiplied exactions. The very name of Englishman became hated; English law was regarded as an instrument of oppression; and no chief who could resist would have an English sheriff in his territory.

The ranks of the discontented received an important recruit by the escape from Dublin Castle of Red Hugh O'Donnell. More than four years had passed since that ill-omened vessel, with its courteous master and its cargo of Spanish wine, had conveyed him a prisoner to Dublin, and there, with the sons of Shane O'Neill and many others among the Irish chiefs, he had been ever since detained. His relative, the Earl of Tyrone, had pleaded, in 1588, for his release with the Earl of Leicester, but that royal favourite died the same year, and nothing was done.[48] In the winter of 1590, O'Donnell, with some of his fellow prisoners, made his escape, and reached the Dublin hills, intending to get to

[45] Cox, p. 399.
[46] *Carew Papers*, Vol. III., p. 156; Cox, p. 402.
[47] Carew, p. 31.
[48] *Ibid.*, Vol. II., p. 461.

Wicklow. He was soon missed and pursued; the wood in which he was concealed was surrounded by soldiers; and Felim O'Toole of Wicklow, knowing that his capture was certain, had him arrested himself and delivered over to the government. Henceforth, O'Donnell was more strictly watched and had heavy iron fetters placed on his limbs. Yet, on the Christmas night of 1591, he made a second attempt; and there is little doubt that the corrupt Deputy accepted a bribe and connived at his escape.[49] By means of a file which had been conveyed to him he cut his fetters, as did also the two sons of Shane O'Neill, Art and Henry, and by means of a silken rope, which they had also received in the same mysterious manner as the file, they let themselves down from the window of the castle. Making their way across the ditch by which the prison was surrounded, they were met by a person sent by Fiach MacHugh O'Byrne, who was on friendly terms with Tyrone and was aiding in the work of escape. Through the city they passed safely, but outside the walls in the darkness, they lost Henry O'Neill, and did not see him again. It was a depressing incident, and even without this, their difficulties and hardships were great. The night was pitch dark, the snow fell, the cold was intense, and they were ill clad, for they had cast aside their outer garments. Yet delay meant capture, and at all hazards they must push on; and all that night and the following day they journeyed to Glenmalure. At last they were exhausted. They had tasted no food since leaving Dublin; the cold and snow still continued; and weary, and footsore, and hungry, they took shelter under a rock, while the attendant ran on to bring help. When Fiach McHugh's messenger came back, he found the two northerns apparently dead. They were covered with snow, their limbs frost bitten, and Art O'Neill, already beyond human aid, soon died, and was buried under the shelter of the rock.

With much difficulty Hugh O'Donnell was revived and reached Glenmalure, where he recovered his strength, though his feet were still powerless, nor could he use them until two of his toes were amputated.[50] Their spies soon informed

[49] Fynes Moryson, p. 10; O'Clery's *Life of Red Hugh, Introduction.*
[50] *Carew Papers*, Vol. III., p. 153.

the government that Hugh was in Wicklow, and, to prevent his escape north, the fords of the Liffey were guarded. Yet, he crossed not far from Dublin, accompanied by a guard from O'Byrne; further north, he had as his companion Turlogh O'Hagan, who had been sent to Wicklow by Tyrone. At Drogheda. O'Donnell crossed the Boyne near the town, while O'Hagan passed through the town itself with the two horses which carried them. At Mellifont, they were sheltered by a hospitable Englishman, Sir Garret Moore; at Dundalk, they rode through the town in the open day; at Armagh, they stayed secretly for one night; at Dungannon, they stayed with Tyrone for four nights; and from thence they were escorted to Enniskillen, from which place Maguire rowed them across Lough Erne, at the further shore of which, O'Donnell, after all his hardships and wanderings, was received with tumultuous joy by his own beloved clansmen of Tyrconnell. [51] When his strength was restored, in that same year, his father, who was old and feeble, resigned the chieftaincy, and Red Hugh was inaugurated with all the accustomed ceremonies as the chieftain of his race. And he soon showed that he would act with vigour. A party of marauders, under Captain Willis, had been sent by Bingham to Tyrconnell. They drove out the monks from the monastery of Donegal and established themselves there, and from this they issued from time to time, and plundered the surrounding country, until the place hallowed, by so many associations of piety and prayer, was turned into a robber's den. Young O'Donnell warned them to leave the place by a certain day, taking nothing with them; and they went, else they would certainly have been driven out; and the monks returned and chanted their psalms, and said their Masses and prayed for their benefactors, especially for young Red Hugh. [52] Clearly, the reins, so long clutched by the feeble hands of old O'Donnell, were now held with a firmer grasp, and English freebooters could no longer regard Tyrconnell as a happy hunting ground for their exploits.

From this young chief, so long and so unjustly tortured in prison, the government began to apprehend trouble, as they did also from

[51] O'Clery, pp. 19-33; O'Sullivan (Byrne's Tr.), pp. 67-8.
[52] O'Clery, p. 37.

Maguire, harassed by Fitzwilliam's sheriff. from the MacMahons, whose chief had been so foully done to death, and from Connaught, maddened by the savageries of Bingham. But most of all they feared the Earl of Tyrone. His position was peculiar. He was a member of the Irish Council, and was in high favour with the English Council and the Queen, who regarded him as a loyal subject, zealous for the interests of England; but he was also an O'Neill, and in alliance and favour with the native chiefs. His daughter was married to young O'Donnell;[53] Maguire and O'Cahan were his cousins; Magennis and O'Hanlon were his brothers-in-law; MacMahon was his nephew;[54] and for years he played, with consummate, skill the double role of a loyal English subject and of an Irish chief. But the task was difficult and dangerous. He made war on O'Cahan (1589); but a little later they became friends and he sent his son to be fostered at O'Cahan's castle. With the MacDonnells of Antrim he also became friendly, and even sent them armed assistance in one of their expeditions.[55] With Turlogh Lynnagh he was at war, in 1589. For these and, in addition, that he had sheltered the shipwrecked Spaniards, and corresponded with the King of Spain, he was denounced to the Deputy (1590) by a bastard son of Shane O'Neill called Hugh Gavelock, or Hugh of the Fetters,[56] and the Deputy appointed a certain day to have these charges investigated; but before the appointed day arrived, the Earl had his accuser arrested, tried as a conspirator against his chief, convicted of the charge, and hanged.[57] And, to clear himself of all these charges, he went to London and vindicated himself in the eyes of the English Council. He bound himself to renounce the name of O'Neill, to make Tyrone shire ground, to have no Irish exactions in his territory, no fosterage to be allowed, no nuns or priests to be tolerated, none to be executed except by due course of law. He was to have a jail built at Dungannon, and to keep the peace with Turlogh Lynnagh, and for carrying out his promises, he was to put in

[53] *Carew Papers*, p. 461.
[54] Hogan's *Ireland in 1598*.
[55] Carew, Vol. III., p. 2.
[56] He was the son of Shane O'Neill by Calvagh O'Donnell's wife.
[57] Mitchel's *Life of Hugh O'Neill*, p. 85.

pledges. But he asked the Council, and his request was granted, that at the same time Turlogh Lynnagh should put in pledges also, lest he, " being brought under law, might be spoiled by his lawless neighbours ." [58] This last provision stood him in good stead, for the other Ulster chiefs did not put in pledges, and thus his hands were free. In 1591, he was at war with Turlogh Lynnagh, and was much blamed by the government; but when Fitzwilliam investigated the matter he decided that the fault was on the side of Turlogh. Two years later, he agreed to pay a pension of £2,000 a year to Turlogh; but, the same year, the old chief died; Tyrone was also bound to restrain O'Donnell and to punish Maguire. [59]

In the meantime he had incurred the hostility of a more formidable enemy than any he had yet made. This was Sir Henry Bagenal, who, in 1590, had succeeded his father in the office of Marshal. [60] The Earl's first wife had been divorced from him; his second wife, Red Hugh's sister, was dead, and, in 1591, he married Bagenal's sister, Mabel. Bagenal complained that the Earl's first wife still lived, and refused to give his sister her dowry; and at the Council table he was ever opposed to the Earl, thwarted him in every way, made many charges against him, and was bent, by fair means or foul, in effecting his ruin. Tyrone retorted by accusing Bagenal of bribing the Deputy, and complained that some of his friends were trying to murder him. He complained that for sending some of the captured Spaniards to Dublin he had got no thanks, nor did he get any part of MacMahon's territory, though " every peddling merchant " got a share of it. He recalled how he had rescued the English sheriff from Maguire, and aided the Deputy in defeating the same chief on the shores of Lough Erne; yet he received no thanks, but, on the contrary, was called a traitor by Fitzwilliam. [61] The English Council and the Queen were impressed by these statements. Bagenal was warned not to further molest the Earl, and the Deputy Fitzwilliam was deprived of his office, and was succeeded by Sir William Russell. The

[58] *Carew Papers*, pp. 37-9.
[59] *Ibid.*, pp. 74-5.
[60] *Ibid.*, p. 41.
[61] *Ibid.*, pp. 87-9.

state of Ulster was threatening; Maguire and O'Donnell were already joined by O'Rorke of Breffni; and if Tyrone joined the confederacy, the worst consequences were to be feared. Such a rebellion would shake English power in Ireland to its foundations. It was considered better to keep him on the side of the government. The dismissal of the Deputy, and the warning issued to Bagenal soothed his ruffled feelings; for the time he had no cause of complaint; and the clouds rolled away which but lately were so ominous and dark.

CHAPTER VIII.

Tyrone's Rebellion.

THE retiring Deputy described for the benefit of his successor the condition of Ireland at his retirement. Munster was peaceable, and Connaught, except that O'Rorke had risen in rebellion and gone to Tyrconnell. In Leinster, Fiach MacHugh was inactive, but distrustful; the Kavanaghs were weak; and among the O'Mores and O'Connors, danger was to be feared only from Owney O'More, son to the famous Rory Oge, who was believed to have inherited his father's ability for war, and had been educated with Fiach MacHugh, where his warlike capabilities had been developed. In Ulster the MacMahons were in open rebellion. Maguire had driven the English sheriff from Fermanagh, and invaded Connaught. After his defeat on the Erne by Fitzwilliam and Tyrone, his relative, Connor, was set up by the government as his rival. But this was not enough, and in the next year (1594), Fitzwilliam again invaded Fermanagh, and captured Enniskillen, and left there an English garrison. It appeared evident that the Deputy's purpose was to drive Hugh Maguire out of Fermanagh, even as O'Rorke had been driven out of Breffni by Bingham. But Maguire was not easily disposed of—his capacity was considerable—and when Fitzwilliam left his territory, he besieged Enniskillen, in which he had the assistance of Red Hugh. Unable to storm it, they blockaded it, and the garrison were soon suffering from want of food. A relieving force was despatched from Connaught by Bingham; and, unfortunately for Maguire, his ally O'Donnell had then returned

to Tyrconnell to welcome a force of 2,000 Scots, who had just arrived, and whom he at once enrolled in his army. But the absence of O'Donnell was compensated for by the arrival of Cormac O'Neill, Tyrone's brother, with a force of 300 foot and 100 horse; and both he and Maguire encountered the English near Enniskillen on the Erne, and utterly defeated them. Besides their loss in men and arms, the English lost all their food supplies, salt, meat, cheese, and biscuits, whence it happened that the ford at which their passage was successfully disputed came to be called the Ford of the Biscuits.[1] This, then was the condition of Ulster. Clannaboy and Iveagh were disturbed; some of the sub-chiefs of Tyrone were aiding Maguire; Sorley Boy's son was attached to Tyrone, and could not be relied on by the English; and out of all Ulster they could not count on any district except Cavan.[2]

So far the Earl of Tyrone had taken no part with the chiefs in revolt; but he was believed to be in sympathy with them, and in fact to be secretly instigating them; and the Queen wished that, if he came into the Deputy's power, he should be kept a prisoner.[3] He had, a short time previously, proposed to meet the Queen's commissioners at Dundalk, but failed to come; he also kept in prison the three sons of Shane O'Neill, and would not give them up to the Deputy when asked. This was in Fitzwilliam's time, and because he distrusted him. Under a new Deputy he laid aside his fears, and to the surprise of his friends, and still more of his foes, he appeared at the Council Board at Dublin. With the greatest pleasure Bagenal took upon himself the office of accuser. He charged him with being in league with the Pope, and the King of Spain, and with Maguire and O'Donnell; with having preyed and spoiled Connor Roe Maguire, who was under the Queen's protection; with having harboured and befriended those who were proclaimed traitors; with having sent his brother Cormac to aid Maguire, and helped to defeat the English at Enniskillen; and with having, on the death of Turlogh Lynnagh, proclaimed himself The O'Neill.[4]

[1] O'Clery's *Life of Red Hugh*, pp. 61, 71, 73.
[2] *Carew Papers*, pp. 92-4.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 101.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 97-9.

The latter charge he could not, and did not deny; but he explained that Turlogh Lynnagh had voluntarily resigned the chieftaincy to him, and that he had assumed the name, lest some other O'Neill should assume it, and as such gather followers around him, and disturb the peace of Ulster. As to the other charges, he denied them all, nor could Bagenal prove them; and O'Neill had friends on the Council who were not prepared to swallow all that Bagenal said, and who did not accept mere suspicion for certainty, nor assume he was guilty until his guilt was proved. On his side, O'Neill made the strongest protestations of loyalty; lamented that the Queen was offended with him; that her displeasure was his greatest grief; that it was she who had lifted him up, and he knew she could as easily pluck him down. He absented himself from Dundalk, because he was afraid to trust himself to Fitzwilliam and Bagenal, both of whom had designs on his life. Now he was willing to aid the present Deputy in relieving Enniskillen, or in expelling the Scots, if such service was demanded of him; he would do his best to pacify O'Donnell; he would admit a sheriff into Tyrone, and build a jail at Dungannon, and aid the Deputy in his wars, and protect the Queen's subjects in Tyrone; and he would send his son Hugh to Dublin, as a pledge of his good faith.[5] A majority of the Council were satisfied with his promises, and decided that he was not to be kept in restraint. But orders had come from Burleigh that he was to be detained, whether innocent or guilty. The Earl of Ormond, who was a close personal friend of Tyrone, warned him of his danger,[6] and O'Neill with all speed left Dublin, and made his way back to Ulster. The Queen was enraged. It mattered little whether O'Neill was guilty or not. She suspected him, and in her mind suspicion and guilt were nearly akin. The nature of treasons, she said, are secret; and not to be proved but by presumption; and letting the Earl of Tyrone away from Dublin was as foul an oversight as was ever committed in that kingdom.[7]

[5] *Carew Papers*, pp. 95-7; O'Clery, p. 61.

[6] Mitchel's *Life of Hugh O'Neill*, p. 103. Ormond was indignant at receiving such a command, and told Burleigh, that whoever so advised the Queen, was fitter for such base service than he was.

[7] *Carew Papers*, p. 100.

Her advice to Sir William Russell was to try some underhand way to bring in the Earl; and she thought it would be well if divisions were fomented in Tyrone.[8]

But O'Neill was not to be ensnared so easily. He knew the Queen too well to trust her promises; he knew that in the case of Burleigh, her chief adviser, treachery was part of his nature; he remembered how Shane O'Neill had been treated; how the Earl of Desmond had been kept in London for six years without being tried; and how O'Donnell had been kidnapped and thrown into prison. He was conscious that he had done some things which might easily be turned into serious charges, and thus effect his ruin—his correspondence with Fiach MacHugh, his aid in effecting the escape of O'Donnell, his assumption of the name of The O'Neill, his friendship for Maguire and MacMahon. Bagenal and others of the Council would magnify these accusations, and add to them, and the Queen's doubts of him would soon be turned into certainty. It was true that, against these accusations, he might point to some services done in her interest. But he knew also that the two Viceroys who had served her best were Sidney and Perrott; and that Sidney was neglected in his old age, and Perrott was a prisoner in the Tower; and his services, compared to what they had done, were insignificant. But while unwilling to trust himself to the Queen or to Burleigh, he had no desire to provoke a contest, knowing the power of England. And if himself and the other Ulster chiefs were relieved from the vexatious persecutions of English officials, if the people were guaranteed the peaceable possession of their lands, and liberty to worship God according to their convictions, there is no reason to think that he would have rebelled, but, on the contrary, would have lived and died a loyal subject of England. It was only when he discovered that a large English army was being prepared to attack him, and that he was to be coerced rather than conciliated, that he resolved on war. And the English soon found that the task of crushing him was not so easy. He bore little resemblance to the ordinary Irish chief, who boasted much, and talked much, and did little, and who heedlessly rushed into war without estimating his

[8] *Carew Papers*, p. 101.

difficulties or his resources. O'Neill, on the contrary, was cool and cautious and calculating, had the capacity to take pains, never acted from impulse or caprice, but as the result of forethought, and was ready to learn from his enemies, and to adopt their arms and discipline. The six companies which he was allowed to have in Tyrone in the Queen's pay he took care to frequently change, and thus were the Tyrone men trained to arms, and at the expense of England; and, on pretence of having some buildings to roof, he brought into Tyrone large quantities of lead and had it cast into bullets.[9] Unlike Shane O'Neill, he had not sought to crush the Ulster chiefs; he had tried rather to conciliate them, and induced them to lay aside their personal quarrels; and when the rebellion broke out, Ulster was united as she had never been before, and under a leader, the ablest she had ever known.

Both O'Neill and O'Donnell had sent letters to the King of Spain, informing him that they had taken up arms in defence of the Catholic faith, and begging assistance in arms and men; but, so far, no assistance had come; time pressed; and the large reinforcements from England were on their way.[10] Further delay was dangerous, and early in 1595 Tyrone's brother, Art, suddenly attacked and captured Portmore, on the Blackwater, and drove away the garrison, and thus was Tyrone cleared of the English. O'Reilly's country of Cavan was then attacked and wasted; and in May the Earl himself took the field, and with O'Donnell and Maguire and MacMahon besieged Monaghan, then garrisoned by English troops. Bagenal with 1,800 men set out from Newry to relieve it, and O'Neill allowed him to achieve his purpose, and thought it wiser to avoid giving battle, but to harass him on his return. Expecting that Bagenal would march to Dundalk, O'Neill had the route plashed. But Bagenal returned instead to Newry, and even here his forces were assailed; and when they arrived at Newry, they had lost nearly 200 killed and wounded, and would probably have lost more, if the Irish had not run short of powder.[11]

[9] Ware's *Annals* at 1593.
[10] O'Clery, pp. 50-3. (Introduction.)
[11] *Carew Papers*, p. 110.

A month later, Sir John Norris arrived with his reinforcements, and, at the head of 3,000 men, and accompanied by the Deputy, he marched from Dundalk to Armagh. Again O'Neill avoided a pitched battle, but retired as the enemy advanced. His evident purpose was to draw them further into the woods and passes, and the better to inspire them with rash confidence, he continued his flight, and, as if in panic, burned down his castle of Dungannon. But the Deputy did not go beyond Armagh, and putting that place in a state of defence, and leaving a garrison there, he turned west to Monaghan, which he revictualled and strengthened, and then returned to Newry and to Dublin. Norris was left at Newry in supreme command of the army of Ulster,[12] and soon finding that Monaghan was again besieged, he had again to march to its relief. On this occasion his passage was disputed by O'Neill at Clontibret, five miles from Monaghan. The two armies were on opposite sides of the little river which runs by the place; and if Monaghan was to be relieved the river must be crossed, and the Irish driven back. Norris, one of the ablest generals in the Queen's service, made his dispositions with skill, and twice charged at the head of his infantry; but each time he was driven back, and in these attacks both himself and his brother, Sir Thomas, were wounded. At length a body of English cavalry, gallantly led by an Anglo-Irishman named Segrave, spurred fiercely across the stream. Segrave was a man of enormous size and strength, and espying the Earl of Tyrone, he charged him at full speed. O'Neill met him in mid-career, and the lances of each were shivered to pieces on the other's corselet. In a second encounter Segrave grappled with his antagonist, and dragged him by main force to the ground, where both struggled fiercely, O'Neill being undermost. He was able, however, to draw his short sword and plunge it into Segrave's groin, and the gigantic and gallant leader soon expired. This ended the battle. The English fell back, leaving their standard in the hands of the enemy, and, with their general wounded, and many other casualties, they reached Newry; and in a short time Monaghan yielded to O'Neill.[13]

[12] *Carew Papers*, p. 115-18.
[13] *Four Masters*; Mitchel's *Life of O'Neill*, p. 111.

In most of these events Hugh O'Donnell had a share. But his activity was not confined to Ulster. As chief of Tyrconnell he claimed superiority over North Connaught, and believed that the Mayo Burkes, the O'Connors, the O'Rorkes, and the MacDermotts owed him allegiance and tribute. Nor ought these chiefs object to a new master, for any change would be an improvement on Bingham. Without any apparent reason, he savagely attacked the Burkes, in 1592, desolated their lands with fire and sword, broke down their castles, drove away their cattle, plundered their tenants, took their relatives, male and female, and flung them into prison, from which few escaped with their lives.[14] When O'Rorke refused to pay rent for lands which had gone waste, he fiercely attacked him and drove away his cattle (1593). His brothers George and John were as ferocious as himself, and Leitrim and Sligo and Fermanagh they had at one time or other entered and laid waste. To chastise these rapacious English, O'Donnell entered Connaught, in 1595. From Fermanagh he crossed into Leitrim, then turned westward to where the old palace of the O'Connors stood at Rathcroghan. From this he sent out marauding parties, and everyone who was English, or in sympathy with them, was plundered, their cattle driven off, their houses burned. Bingham had garrisons at Sligo and Ballymote and Tulsk, and gathered these together at Boyle; but he was unable to stay O'Donnell's progress, or prevent him taking across the Shannon all the cattle he had seized.[15] And the same chief soon wasted Longford, and returned safely with much booty to Tyrconnell. In his absence George Bingham sailed from Sligo to Lough Swilly, and plundered the inmates of Rathmullen, taking away the vestments and the sacred vessels of the altar, and leaving the church in ruins; and he repeated these robberies on Tory Island, a place bare and desolate, but sanctified by the labours of St. Columba, and rich in ecclesiastical buildings. With these spoils Bingham returned to Sligo; but he soon quarrelled with one of his officers, Burke, and was killed; and Burke delivered Sligo to O'Donnell. It was a decisive event, and brought all North

[14] *Four Masters.*
[15] *Ibid*

Connaught to desert the English and to acknowledge O'Donnell's sway. Before the year expired, he again desolated the English settlements in the province, set up one Theobald Burke as The MacWilliam; and, except the County of Clare, all Connaught might be said to have taken his side; nor did Bingham hold any part of it for the Queen outside of a few garrison towns.[16]

In the meantime, the Earl of Tyrone had written to Wallop, the Treasurer for War, and to the Deputy, protesting that he wished to remain a loyal subject. The letter to the Deputy was intercepted by Bagenal, and never delivered, and of the letter to Wallop nothing came; and in the last days of June, O'Neill and O'Donnell and their allies were proclaimed traitors at Dundalk.[17] Private instructions were sent by the Queen that O'Donnell was to be pardoned, the hope being that the northern confederacy might dissolve, a hope which was not realised. For once the Ulster chiefs were faithful to one another, feeling that they should stand or fall together; and O'Donnell, instead of seeking for pardon, was even more embittered against the English than O'Neill. Negotiations were opened, a few months later. At first, the Queen would only grant O'Neill pardon of his life, on laying down his arms, dispersing his forces, and revealing all his correspondence with foreign powers; nor was he to make suit for his confederates, but plead only for himself. These confederates must be punished, and the Earl himself was to be deprived of his title and be only Baron of Dungannon, and he was to be deprived of part of his lands. Such terms were not likely to become the basis of a permanent settlement, yet a truce was arranged, to last until the 1st of January following, or a month later, if the Deputy wished. And during this period of peace, the Queen's garrisons were at liberty to procure victuals and materials, such as stone and timber, to perfect their defences.[18] When the time expired, the negotiations were resumed. The Queen was then in a more yielding mood, and told the Deputy and Norris to make the best terms they could; but, naturally suspicious, she feared O'Neill's offers to submit were only a plot to temporise until he

[16] *Four Masters.*
[17] Fynes Moryson, pp. 14-15; *Carew Papers*, p. 111.
[18] Carew, p. 126.

received foreign aid; and she was probably not far wrong.[19] A few months before, she denounced him as the son of a bastard, and ordered the Deputy to negotiate through some "mean person," but, in June, 1596, the practice of calling him names was abandoned, and the Irish Council selected two of their number, Wallop and Gardiner, as commissioners for negotiating terms. They invited O'Neill to meet them at Dundalk, but, as he was fearful of treachery, he would enter no walled town, nor meet them anywhere except in the open, and in the presence of his army, and after he had taken every precaution to ensure his personal safety.

They met in an open field near Dundalk, O'Neill and O'Donnell on one side, the two commissioners on the other, all on horseback; the troops on each side were a quarter of a mile distant; two Irish soldiers stood between the commissioners and the English army, and two English soldiers between the Irish chiefs and their army.[20] The Irish demanded to have liberty of conscience, to have no sheriffs in Ulster or in O'Donnell's part of Connaught, nor any garrison except Newry and Carrickfergus; all those who had sided with O'Neill and O'Donnell in the rebellion were to be pardoned; and henceforth O'Neill was to be answerable for all Ulster except Tyrconnell, and O'Donnell for Tyrconnell and for North Connaught. O'Neill recalled his services to the Queen, and the treatment he had received from Fitzwilliam and Bagenal. O'Donnell reminded the commissioners that his father had destroyed Shane O'Neill, yet he was himself kidnapped and thrown into prison, while Tyrconnell was plundered by an English sheriff. And Maguire had recalled how Bingham had wasted his territory, slaughtered the women and children, and drove away the cattle, and how Fitzwilliam had accepted bribes, and yet forgot the promises he had made and the bribes he had received. To discuss these grievances and demands many meetings were held, and many letters were written, from the Irish leaders to the commissioners, from these to the Deputy, from the Deputy to the Queen. Finally, the Queen gave her decision, writing separately to each of the

[19] *Carew Papers*, p. 131.
[20] *Ibid.*, p. 134.

chiefs, and in every case refusing their demand for liberty of conscience; she would send a sheriff into their districts "whenever it would be necessary and profitable;" she even found fault with the commissioners for giving ear to such presumptuous and disloyal petitions.[21]

It was the language of tyranny and bigotry, yet she was not anxious for war, and if she did not accept O'Neill's terms she had terms of her own to offer. To arrange the conditions of peace, Norris and Fenton were appointed commissioners, and informed O'Neill how far Her Majesty was willing to go. He was not even to ask for liberty of conscience, nor for mercy for anyone but for himself, nor to detain Shane O'Neill's sons in prison, nor aid anyone in rebellion, nor receive in his country any disloyal person; he was to permit garrisons in Armagh and Tyrone, and to build a jail, and reveal his correspondence with foreign princes, and renounce the name of O'Neill. There was no longer any question of depriving him of the Earldom, or of confiscating his estates. Some of these conditions he was willing to accept fully, others in a modified form; but he peremptorily refused to have a garrison at Armagh; he would build no jail; and he would punish no man who came into his territory for conscience sake.[22] During these discussions Norris conceived a high opinion of O'Neill's ability and sincerity, O'Neill conceived a high opinion of Norris, and for a time there was peace in Ulster. The Queen began to hope that the trouble would soon be over, and she expected to get heavy fines both from O'Neill and O'Donnell for their "grievous disloyalties." She wished to have the negotiations hurried on and peace secured, and she complained that the Deputy was wasting time in sending messengers to and from London, instead of directing the negotiations himself.[23] But O'Neill was in no hurry. He had little hope of getting favourable terms, and spun out these discussions until help came from Spain. If he declared for war, England would put forth her whole strength to crush him, and he knew well that, unaided by a foreign power, he would be vanquished; and, in July, the truce was prolonged,

[21] *Carew Papers* (1589-1600), p. 167.
[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 172-3.
[23] *Carew Papers*, p. 177.

though peace was not permanently secured.[24] In the meantime his confederacy with the other chiefs was firm and unshaken; he was urging Fiach MacHugh in Leinster to become active in that quarter; and he had sent messengers to Munster with a similar object in view.[25] Further, because Fiach MacHugh, he believed, was harshly treated by the government, because his own pledges were not released as promised, and because one of his friends had been murdered by the garrison at Kells, he broke out into acts of hostility, besieged Carlingford and Armagh, cut off a convoy sent to succour the latter place, and wasted the northern districts of the Pale.[26] Yet, he still professed his anxiety for peace and pardon, allowed Norris without hindrance to victual Armagh, and promised to meet the Queen's commissioners at Dundalk on the 2nd of April. When that day came, he wrote to say that he would meet the commissioners on the 18th, but when the latter day came he did not appear.[27] He had to complain that Bagenal, the man he most hated, was still retained in the office of Marshal, while Norris, the man he most trusted, he had heard was about to be removed; in these circumstances he did not hope for justice or fair play; and though the Queen's commissioners had entirely laid aside the language of menace, and adopted that of conciliation and even of entreaty, he broke off the negotiations and prepared for war.[28]

While O'Neill was thus engaged, O'Donnell was not idle. Several letters were then passing between Ireland and Spain in which, on their side, the Irish chiefs expressed their willingness to accept Philip as their king; while the Spanish King, on his side, encouraged them to continue the fight, and promised his aid; but no aid came except three vessels which landed in Tyrconnell, in 1596, each vessel having on board 60 musketeers, and some arms and ammunition.[29] But even with his own forces, and those of MacWilliam and O'Rorke, O'Donnell continued to hold North Connaught in subjection. Towards the end of 1595 the Deputy

[24] *Carew Papers*, p. 246.
[25] *Ibid.*, pp. 179, 182.
[26] *Ibid.*, pp. 185 7.
[27] Ware's *Annals*.
[28] Moryson, p. 19; Carew, p. 258.
[29] O'Clery, pp. 77-81. (Introduction.)

made a journey to the province, and everywhere he went he heard bitter complaints against Bingham; and the charges were so serious, and sustained by such abundant evidence, that Bingham was removed from office.[30] In the interval that elapsed until a new President of Connaught was appointed, General Norris was for a short time in the province, and it seemed that he and O'Donnell would come to blows, for both at the head of their armies faced each other on the banks of the Robe; but there was no battle, and after Norris had put fresh garrisons into Galway, Athenry, Roscommon, Boyle, and a few other places, he returned to Dublin and to Ulster.[31]

In Munster all was quiet, but in Leinster Fiach MacHugh and the O'Mores, and some of the Butlers, kept the province disturbed. For some violation of his promise, Fiach's wife, who was a hostage at Dublin, was, in 1595, publicly burned, a cruel and barbarous sentence, yet, a few months later, Fiach made peace with the government, but in the next year he was again at war. His territory was then invaded by the Deputy in person, his followers hunted down, his stronghold attacked, and the old chief himself was surprised and slain. His head was cut off and brought to Dublin, and great was the jubilation of the English to be thus rid of so formidable a foe.[32] Young Owney O'More was not so easily disposed of, and entering Leix, the country of his ancestors, in 1596, he wasted it with fire and sword. The Cosbys, who had been planted there, fought in defence of their lands, and fought well; but O'More defeated them with the loss of their leader and many others and the crops and corn and buildings of the settlers were totally destroyed.[33]

Wearied by anxiety, ill supported from England, censured by the Queen for not having conquered the rebellious chiefs, but not furnished with sufficient forces for the task, censured for not having made peace with them, though she would not grant them terms.

[30] Carew, pp. 238-40. At Galway the Deputy was welcomed by the Mayor, who read to him an ovation in Latin.
[31] *Four Masters.*
[32] *Four Masters* at 1597; *Carew Papers*, p. 259.
[33] *Ibid.*

Sir William Russell had repeatedly asked to be relieved of office, and at length, in May, 1597, his request was acceded to, and Lord Borough was appointed Viceroy. As a soldier he had served with distinction in the Netherlands, and his instructions were to cease negotiations and to prosecute the war. Displeased with General Norris for his want of success, he at once removed him from the command of the Ulster army, and sent him to the lesser office of President of Munster, a mortification which weighed so heavily on the General's spirits that he died of grief. Yet the Deputy himself parleyed with Tyrone, and agreed to a truce for one month, both sides, no doubt, being anxious to perfect their preparations for the coming contest. To this truce O'Donnell did not consent. He wanted no peace, and latterly had been very active in Connaught, where Sir Conyers Clifford had just been appointed to succeed Bingham as President.[34] He was an able soldier and administrator, kind and conciliatory, and in every way a contrast to the ferocious freebooter whom he succeeded. And the result of the change of policy, was, that O'Connor Sligo and MacDermott revolted from O'Donnell and took the side of the English. But the Northern was not a safe man to provoke, and soon entered their territories and laid them waste, and left them not a single head of cattle that he did not drive off to Tyrconnell. Nor did he cease until he entered Clanricarde's territory, and treated it similarly, spoiled and desolated round Athenry and Oranmore and Galway, scaled the walls surrounding Athenry, burst open the gates, burned the buildings, and carried off everything which was of value. Galway he was unable to take, as he had no siege implements, but he wasted up to the gates of the town, and then retraced his steps, and sent all the spoils he had taken across the Erne. And such terror did these successes inspire, that MacDermott and others who had revolted to the English were glad to make terms with him.[35] But O'Connor still held out, and in O'Donnell's absence he and Clifford wasted the lands of MacWilliam and banished him from Tyrawley, and when he was reinstated by O'Donnell they again banished him and set up a rival, Theobald na Long, or Theobald of the Ships, a son of

[34] Carew, pp. 254-5.
[35] *Four Masters* at 1597.

Granuaile. Clifford endeavoured to intercept the flight of the exiled MacWilliam into Tyrconnell, but the fugitive escaped, and for the present the President was unable to pursue him.[36]

By the time the month's truce with Tyrone had expired, the Deputy had his preparations made. The Irish were to be attacked from three different directions. From Connaught Clifford was to cross the Erne and capture Ballyshannon, crush O'Donnell, and then, turning eastwards, fall upon O'Neill; a second army of 1,000 men was placed under the command of Barnwell, son of Lord Trimleston, was to assemble at Mullingar, and, marching north, was to join hands with Clifford; and both were to join the Deputy, who advanced through Newry and Armagh. By the month of August, Clifford assembled his forces at Boyle, having with him the Earls of Thomond and Clanricarde, and Lord Inchiquin, and at the head of 700 men reached the Erne. The fords were feebly guarded, and Clifford overcame the resistance offered, and crossed the river with the loss of only a few. The Queen's MacWilliam, Theobald of the Ships, was co-operating by the sea, and had brought round from Galway some heavy ordnance; and when Clifford reached Ballyshannon, these heavy guns were landed, and the castle of Ballyshannon was vigorously assailed. But it was as vigorously defended by O'Donnell's troops, the place was of great strength, and the guns made no great impression on it, and the English soldiers who advanced under cover of their shields were shot down by the garrison, stones and beams of timber were flung down from the battlements, and time after time their gallant assault was as gallantly repelled. But in the meantime O'Donnell's forces were augmented by the arrival of O'Rorke and Maguire, and he had now under his command 2,000 men; and in the presence of such superior strength Clifford commenced to retreat. Across the Erne and through the Curlews he made his way, not without losses at every step, nor did he deem himself safe until he had gathered his army behind the sheltering walls of Boyle; and only his skill, and courage and resource was able to save it from destruction.[37]

The second army at Mullingar fared worse. O'Neill had placed

[36] O'Clery, pp. 131-39.
[37] O'Clery, pp. 143-53.

400 men under Captain Tyrell, and directed him to watch Barnwell and impede his movements; and Tyrell hovered round Mullingar, carefully watching his enemy. The disparity of numbers gave the English commander confidence, and he resolved to attack and destroy the little Irish army before continuing his march north. Tyrell, who knew the country well, fell back some ten miles due south of Mullingar, and took up his position in a narrow pass, with a wood on each side. Under his lieutenant, one of the O'Connors of Offaly, he placed in ambush part of his troops in the rear, while himself passed on, pursued by the impetuous Barnwell. When the English had passed O'Connor, the Irish bagpipes struck up the Tyrells' march, which was the appointed signal; the troops in ambush poured volley after volley into the Eng ish ranks; Tyrell wheeled round and assailed them in front, and slaughter rather than a battle began. When it was over, only two of the English were left—a soldier who made his way across the bogs with the doleful news to Mullingar, and Barnwell himself, who was taken prisoner, and hurried off with all speed to Tyrone, where Tyrell presented him to O'Neill. The place where the slaughter took place has ever since been known as Tyrell's Pass.[38]

On his side the Deputy, accompanied by the Earl of Kildare, advanced without interruption to Armagh, and at a pass beyond it, on the south bank of the Blackwater, resistance was offered by O'Neill. The pass was plashed, but the Deputy forced his way through, safely crossed the river, and rebuilt the ruined fort of Portmore, and placed there a garrison of 300 men. His intention was to proceed to Dungannon, but, two miles west of Portmore, at a place called Drumfluich, O'Neill attacked him with all his forces, and defeated him with heavy loss. The Deputy himself was mortally wounded, and so was the Earl of Kildare. The defeated army fled south, pursued by the enemy; and thus, on every side were the Irish victorious, and at every point the Deputy's plans had failed.[39]

After Lord Borough's death, the Earl of Ormond was appointed Lord Lieutenant, and took chief command of the army, the civil

[38] MacGeoghegan's *History of Ireland*, p. 505.
[39] *Four Masters*; Ware's *Annals*; Moryson, p. 21.

government being in the hands of Loftus and Gardiner. Ormond was an old friend of O'Neill's, and had instructions to make peace with him if possible, and late in December the two Earls had a conference at Dundalk, and concluded a truce to last until the following May. During that time O'Neill was to allow the garrison of Portmore to be victualled, and, in the hope of a lasting peace, negotiations were continued. But they ended in nothing. O'Neill wanted liberty of conscience for all Ireland, no garrisons or sheriffs in Tyrone, and pardon for his allies in the war. The Queen would not listen to such conditions, and wrote to Ormond that O'Neill should disband all his forces, desert his allies, deliver up Shane O'Neill's son, cease correspondence with foreign powers, and make his submission to the Lord Lieutenant, and in public. On these terms he was to be pardoned. But O'Neill wanted no pardon on such terms, and at the end of the truce broke off all further negotiations, and attacked Portmore.[40] He had several times attacked it in the previous year, but the governor, Captain Williams, made a gallant resistance, and the Irish who tried to scale the walls were shot down or flung headlong from the ramparts. O'Neill had no heavy guns, and was unable, therefore, to batter down the defences, and his only resource was to turn the siege into a blockade, until at last the garrison began to suffer from hunger. Yet Williams refused to yield; himself and his men lived on grass and weeds which grew inside the walls; and with the courage and patience of a hero he was resolved to hold out to the last. To relieve him, and if possible to reassert the Queen's supremacy throughout Ulster, Ormond made a greater effort than had yet been made. He had under his command an army of about 10,000 men. Good part of it was required to protect Leinster, and with all that could be spared Marshal Bagenal offered to relieve Portmore. The Irish Council were doubtful of his capacity to succeed, but Bagenal himself was confident, and, on the 12th August, he set out from Newry to the Blackwater, and on the following day arrived safely at Armagh.

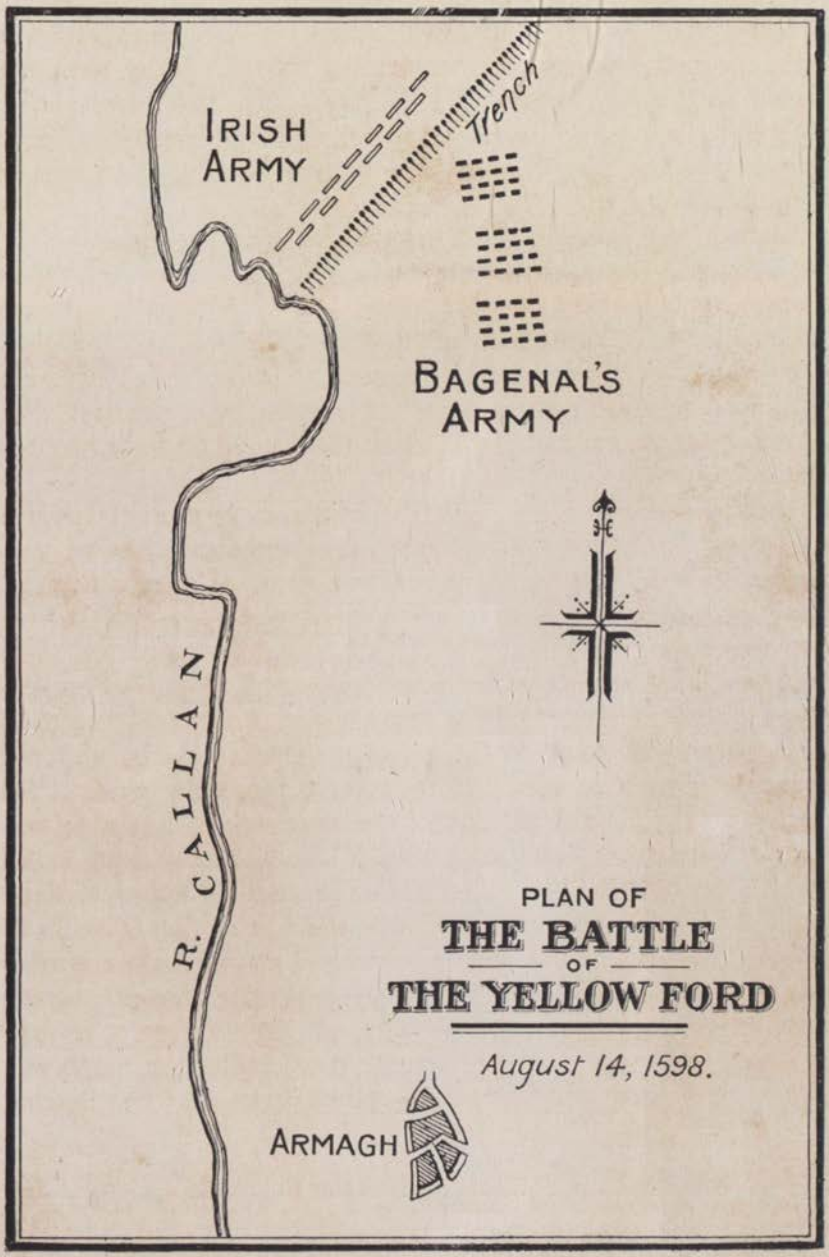
He had with him an army of 4,500 foot and 500 horse, many

[40] *Carew Papers*, pp. 274-8.

of them veterans who had fought abroad,[41] all of them, either in Ireland or elsewhere, having experience in war. They were well armed with guns, swords, and daggers, many had breastplates; they had some brass cannon; and they had the usual number of drivers, suttlers, and foragers, who accompanied the baggage; of ammunition and victuals they had abundance.[42] On the Irish side O'Donnell had brought 1,000 men, MacWilliam an equal number, O'Neill and his neighbours making up the remainder, the whole force being 4,500 foot and 600 horse. In experience in war and in confidence in their leaders, they were little inferior to their opponents, but in arms they were overmatched. They had lances and swords and battle-axes; some had javelins and bows and arrows, and a great many had guns; but they were entirely without artillery.[43]

Before sunrise on the 14th, Bagenal was in motion towards Portmore. His army was divided into three divisions of two regiments each, and between each regiment, as they advanced, there was a space of 700 paces, a bad arrangement of which Ormond afterwards complained that the "devil must have bewitched them that none of them did prevent this gross error." Colonel Pery and Bagenal were in charge of the first division, Cosby and Wingfield of the second, Cooney and Billings of the third. The cavalry was commanded by Brooke, and Montague and Fleming were stationed at the wings. Though one half of the army was Irish,[44] there was but one Irish chief, Maelmorra O'Reilly, who gloried in being called the "Queen's O'Reilly." Bagenal, addressing his troops, assured them of victory, and to the man who would bring him O'Neill's or O'Donnell's head he promised a reward of £1,000. On the Irish side also O'Neill addressed his army, reminding them that they were defending their own patrimony against strangers; he had no doubt of victory; and O'Donnell's poet, O'Clery, when he was told the name of the battlefield, assured them that St. Berchin

[41] This is the Irish estimate, that of the English is 4,000 foot and 320 horse. Atkinson's *Calendar*, p. 235.
[42] Hogan's *Ireland in 1598*, pp. 310-11.
[43] *Ibid.*, p. 312.
[44] O'Clery, *Introduction*, p. 93.



PLAN OF

THE BATTLE OF THE YELLOW FORD

August 14, 1598.

[To face page 143.

had long since forefold that the foreigners would be defeated there by a Hugh O'Neill.[45]

Two miles from Armagh, at a place called Beal-an-Ath-Buidhe, or the Mouth of the Yellow Ford, O'Neill had resolved to dispute Bagenal's passage. It was an open plain, by the banks of the Callan river. The passage was through a winding hollow, between low hills; the ground was soft and marshy; and as the open plain was approached the passage became narrow, with a bog on one side and a wood on the other. In front of his position, O'Neill had dug a trench a mile long, and for a mile or more in advance, he had dug deep holes and trenches, and carefully covered them over with grass and brushwood. He had also felled trees; and he had stationed on each side a body of sharp-shooters, whose fire was to play on the advancing masses. These sharp-shooters did much execution; the trenches and pitfalls maimed many of Bagenal's cavalry, and threw his ranks into confusion; the felled trees retarded his progress; but, with grim persistence he continued his march, and, arrived at the deep trench, the first regiment gallantly made their way across. But they were fiercely assailed, and before the second regiment could come to their relief were all but annihilated, and when the second regiment did come, they met with a similar fate. At this point Bagenal raised the visor of his helmet to look around on the battle-field, and as he did so was struck dead by a musket ball. O'Neill, knowing that he was in the front rank, had gone forward to encounter him, and settle their long quarrel; but the musket ball had done its work, and they were not fated to meet. Seeing the desperate position of the first division, the second division rushed forward to their assistance, but one of the cannon got embedded in the earth, and in trying to extricate it time was lost; and when at last the second division reached the fragments of the first, they too were fiercely assailed. In the meantime, O'Donnell, and Maguire and MacDonnell of the Glynnes, leaving O'Neill to settle with the two first divisions, went forward, and fell upon the last division, and drove them back in disorder. The death of their general, and many of their principal officers, threw the

[45] *Four Masters*, O'Clery, p. 171.

survivors into confusion; the explosion of a waggon of gunpowder in their midst augmented the confusion; and O'Neill, seizing the moment of panic, charged with his whole army. Resistance ceased, and on all sides the enemy gave way. Montague with his cavalry endeavoured to protect them, and to some extent succeeded, and 1,500 of them arrived safely at Armagh.

Their losses were great. Including their commander and 20 superior officers, 2,000 of them were left dead on the field; and arms, standards, military stores, victuals, and money fell into the victor's hands.[46] The loss on the Irish side was 200 killed and 600 wounded. No such victory had ever been obtained in Ireland over the English. O'Neill's banner, a red right hand upon an azure field, was borne in triumph over the ranks of his slaughtered foes; the prophecy of St. Berchin had been realised to the full; and O'Neill was compared to Hannibal after the Battle of Cannae. The garrison at Portmore surrendered, leaving their arms and ammunition, and the same conditions were allowed to those in Armagh, but only after Ormond had pleaded with O'Neill; and the suppliant tone that he adopted so annoyed the Queen, that she declared she had never read a letter, which in form and substance was so base.[47]

[46] Hogan, pp. 314-22; Bagwell III., pp. 297-9; Atkinson's *Calendar*, pp. 224-9, 241-4, 277-9.

[47] O'Clery, pp. 163-175; Moryson, pp. 24-5; *Carew Papers*, p. 284; Atkinson's *Calendar*, pp. 258-9.

CHAPTER IX.

Irish Victories.

It is strange that O'Neill, after his great victory, did not at once march south and capture Dublin. Its defenders were few, its defences not strong, Ormond was old, and the Council were demoralized. And the capture of the city, the centre and seat of the Queen's government, would have added to O'Neill's prestige, would have given him guns, especially heavy guns, in which he was deficient, and military stores; it would have depressed the English everywhere, and, on the other hand, would have brought the native Irish flocking to his side. But it is only fair to take account of his difficulties. After all, Dublin might offer a strong resistance. It had been always enthusiastically loyal to the English connection, had been resolute against Bruce and Silken Thomas, and it might be that the same spirit would be shown against O'Neill. Against such resistance he would be powerless, for the city was surrounded by a massive wall which nothing but powerful guns could batter down, and the guns captured at the Yellow Ford were not equal to such a task. Besides, the sea was open, and to blockade the city from the land side was all the Irish general could do. Nor were his troubles over if he entered the city as a conqueror. This would be throwing down the gauge of battle to England, who would put forth her whole strength for the recovery of Ireland; the expected Spanish aid had not yet come to the Irish chiefs; they had only a limited supply of firearms; and, if alone against the might of England, there could be but one end to the struggle.

But, though Dublin was neither captured nor attacked, and the Council there still governed in the Queen's name, their authority was little, and the power of England was all but extinguished. Terrified at the disaster in Ulster, the Queen's troops had not the courage to keep the field, and cowered behind the walls of the garrison towns, while the O'Tooles and O'Byrnes and Kavanaghs roamed at will over Wicklow and Wexford; the O'Connors waxed strong in the King's and Queen's Counties; Ormond's relative, James Butler, was defeated near Maryborough by Brian O'More, and the Earl himself was defeated by Owny MacRory, and after these defeats he remained in Kilkenny in fear and inactivity.[1]

From Leinster the flames of war spread to Munster. Hugh O'Neill had given some troops to Captain Tyrell, and directed him to enter that province; and Owny MacRory, leaving his brother Brian in command near Maryborough, accompanied Tyrell. They were joined, or perhaps invited, by Pierce Lacy, an Anglo-Irishman who had considerable influence in Munster.[2] On their approach the President, Sir Thomas Norris, fled from Kilmallock to Cork; the English troops, like their countrymen in Leinster, tremblingly fled to the walled towns, and there they remained. Since Desmond's rebellion there had been many changes. The fields were again tilled, the ruined cottages rebuilt; the "anatomies of death" who crept out from the woods had recovered their strength; but in their hearts were bitter memories—of wasted fields, of slaughtered kinsmen, of ruined homes. The horrors of Pelham and Grey they vividly recalled; and their children and friends heard their tales with kindling eyes. The lands which their ancestors owned they saw occupied and owned by people of an alien race and creed; and they knew that not a sod of land would be given to themselves, if but enough of these English settlers had come to Munster. The chiefs and nobles who had sided with the government against Desmond had been rewarded grudgingly; their loyalty was suspected, their creed despised; and instead of favours they got but contemptuous toleration. The natives who had fought with Desmond, and then, turning traitors, had imbrued their hands in their

[1] *Four Masters;* O'Sullivan's *History* (Byrne's Tr.), pp. 104-5.
[2] O'Sullivan, pp. 115-16.

kinsmen's blood, in the hope of obtaining pardon and lands, were loathed by their own countrymen, as they were distrusted and despised by the English; and would willingly join in any project, so as to recover the good name they had lost. On every side there was dissatisfaction; the noble in his castle and the peasant in his cottage were alike discontented, and murmured against their lot; against the settlers in their midst their rage was directed, as the cause of their misfortune; for the moment their own jealousies and animosities were forgotten; and everywhere they rose throughout the province. Some of the foreigners abandoned their castles and lands without striking a blow, glad to escape with their lives. Others were overtaken in their flight, and perished by the hands of their enraged pursuers, or perhaps in the fire which consumed their homes. All were deprived of everything they possessed in Munster; and the natives repossessed themselves of the castles and lands from which their relatives or themselves had been driven.[3]

One of these Undertakers, Edmond Spenser, the poet, had already lived for 15 years at Doneraile, in Cork, on the banks of the Awbeg river, and there he wrote portion of the *Faery Queen*, and his *View of the State of Ireland*. It is of the latter that an Irishman has most reason to complain. There are some things in Ireland which the author praises—the soil and scenery and climate, the islands and lakes and woods, the ports and harbours; and the bravery of the people.[4] But with everything else he finds fault, with their religion, their habits and customs, their laws, their language, their dress.[5] Like most Englishmen, he assumed that what was good for England should also be good for Ireland, nor could he understand why Irishmen should not eagerly accept English customs and laws. But he had no faith in kindness and conciliation, and spoke with censure of Perrott for having tried such a policy.[6] His own remedy was the naked and sharpened

[3] *Four Masters*, Moryson, pp. 25-6; Atkinson's *Calendar*, pp. 291, 300-2, 316-19, 330-1.
[4] Spenser's *View*, pp. 28-9.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 87-9, 98-9, 112, 114.
[6] Spenser's *View*, p. 174.

sword, and it was not to be spared. The Irish were to be cut down before any good could be planted, even as "the corrupt branches and unwholesome boughs are first to be pruned, and the foul mass cleansed and scraped away before the tree can bring forth any good fruit." With little more than 10,000 soldiers, his policy, he thought, could be carried out, and in less than two years; and his plan was to set these soldiers in garrison at certain specified points throughout the four provinces. These garrisons were to give the Irishmen no rest; they were to harass and worry them with constant war; to seize their cattle, waste their crops, drive them hither and thither; and if the Irishman is well harassed, "it will pluck him on his knees so that he will never be able to stand up again." [7] Some few who came submissively, and brought all their cattle with them he would receive, and give them a small allowance of land in another province. But, for those who failed to come by a certain day he would have no mercy, and would continue to harass them and kill them, so that in the end there would be none left, and those who did not fall by the sword "would quickly consume themselves and devour one another." [8] And if any of those whose submission was accepted were to show signs of restiveness, they were to be vigorously and sharply dealt with; a provost-marshal was to go through the districts they inhabited, and could on his own authority either put them in the stocks, or scourge them with whips, or even put them to death.[9] This was to adopt with additions the policy of Pelham and Grey; it was to extend to the whole country the desolation that had been brought upon Munster. It was a policy the adoption of which would excite no surprise in such a savage as Bingham, or in such a fanatic as Cromwell; but that it should be proposed by Spenser, in whom the gentler instincts of the poet might be expected to appear; that such a man should recommend the wholesale robbery and murder of a people whose only crime was that they were born in Ireland and professed the Catholic faith, will excite surprise and disgust. Nor is our pity excited when we know that Spenser had to fly from Kilcolman Castle; that his property

[7] Spenser's *View*, p. 160.
[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 165-6.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 251.

was seized by those very Irish whose extermination he had proposed; that he left Ireland as poor as he entered it; and that he died in London the same year in poverty and want.[10]

In the early part of 1599, all Munster was cleared of the Undertakers; and the Knight of Glynn, the White Knight, and the Knight of Kerry, the MacCarthys, the O'Donoghoes, the O'Sullivans, and the O'Driscolls, the Baron of Lixnaw, the Baron of Cahir, and Lord Mountgarrett, were all in rebellion. As yet, there was no Earl of Desmond, and the son of the late Earl was in the Tower of London. But Hugh O'Neill had already more power than any Irish King since Brian Boru, and as he had the power of a King he was resolved to exercise it; and he set up a new Earl of Desmond, who accepted his title and his lands from him, and held both as his vassal.[11] The new Earl was James Fitzgerald, nephew to the late Earl of Desmond, and by the English and their friends he was called in derision the Sugane Earl, or Straw-rope Earl. A few garrisons still held out in Munster; the castles of Castlemaine and Askeaton and Mallow could not be captured by the Irish; but with these exceptions Munster was lost to England; andover the wide extent of ancient Desmond the authority of the new Earl was respected. The Queen's County, at the same time, was dominated by the O'Mores, and Owny MacRory was hoping to drive the English from the strongholds they still held there. In the other parts of Leinster, the Kavanaghs, the O'Byrnes, and the O'Tooles were masters; O'Neill was supreme in Ulster; while in Connaught, O'Donnell had repeatedly raided the territories of Clanricarde and Thomond; and in spite of the President of Connaught, possessed himself of the castle of Ballymote, and kept his Christmas there.[12]

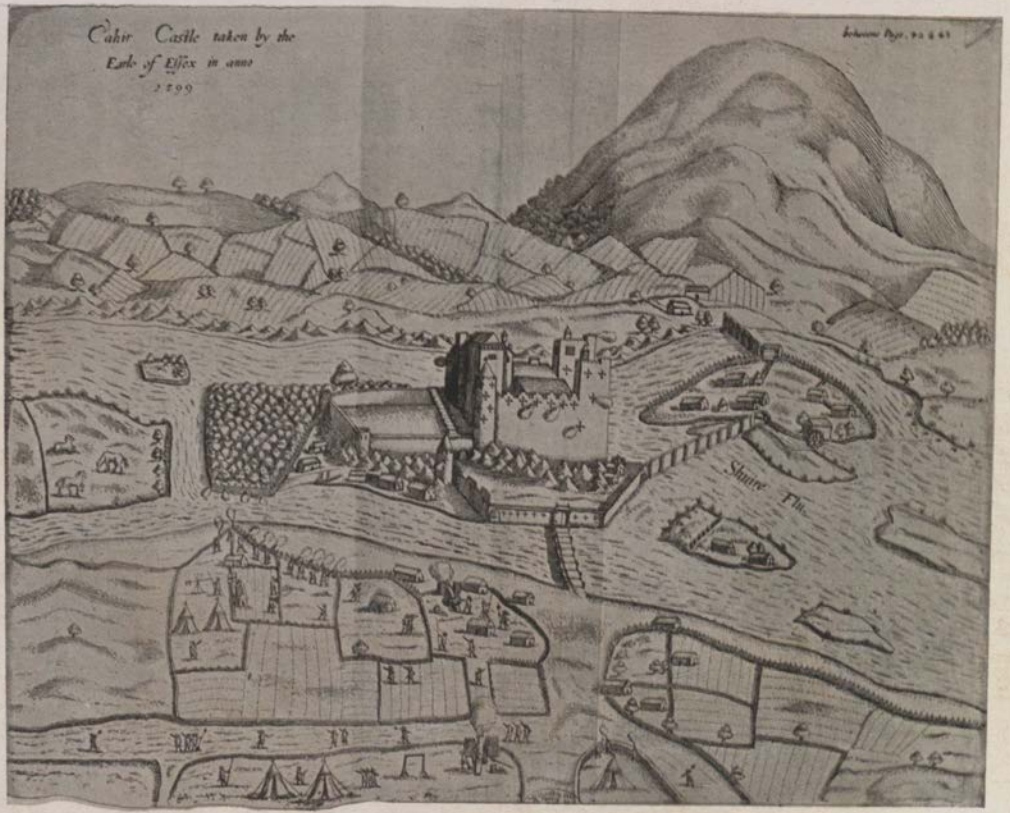
This was the condition of Ireland when the Earl of Essex was appointed Lord Lieutenant, and with more extensive powers than any Viceroy had yet possessed. He was authorised to suppress the rebellion by any means he thought best, to treat with those in rebellion, to hold a Parliament, to execute martial law, to appoint and dismiss all officers, to give grants of land; and he could return

[10] *Four Masters* at 1598, note.
[11] O'Sullivan, pp. 115-16; Moryson, p. 25.
[12] O'Clery, pp. 177-85.

to England when he pleased, leaving Lords Justices to carry on the government in his absence.[13] He was son to that Earl of Essex who had tried to plant the east of Ulster, and who had so basely murdered the Scots at Rathlin Island; he had served with distinction abroad, and was commander of the English forces who captured Cadiz, and by the Queen he was held in the highest favour. He was given 16,000 foot and 1,300 horse, and these with the forces already in Ireland, and 2,000 lately sent to Carlingford under Bagenal, amounted to at least 20,000 men, the largest English army that had ever yet been seen in Ireland.[14] In the preceding year, Bingham, again restored to royal favour, was sent to Ireland to fill the position of Marshal of the army; but a few months later he died, and the whole army was now absolutely under the command of Essex. The Viceroy had enemies at Court whose opinion as to his fitness for high military command was not favourable, and perhaps they expected, and even hoped, he would fail. But his friends were confident. The Queen instructed him to carry the war into O'Neill's own territory; and it was hoped that, if hitherto the Irish chief had played with success the role of Hannibal, Essex was now to play with equal success the role of Scipio Africanus.

Essex landed in Dublin in April; but instead of carrying out his instructions and attacking O'Neill in force, he accepted the advice of some of the Council at Dublin, and with only 7,000 men undertook an expedition into Munster.[15] These members of the Council were personally interested in the Undertakers' lands, and were concerned most of all in recovering their own property, or the property of their friends. Moving through a pass near Maryborough, the Viceroy's rearguard was assailed by Owny MacRory, and cut to pieces, and so many waving plumes of the English cavalry were lost in the encounter, that the place came to be called the Pass of Plumes.[16] Further south, Essex captured Lord Cahir's strong castle on the Suir; then, he victualled Askeaton and Kilmallock and Adare;[17]

[13] *Carew Papers*, p. 290, Cox, p. 416.
[14] Carew, p. 295; Cox, p. 415.
[15] *Four Masters*.
[16] O'Sullivan, pp. 123-4.
[17] *Carew Papers*, pp. 301-7.



THE CAPTURE OF CAHIR CASTLE

FROM FACATA HIBERNIA

but at Croom he was attacked by the Geraldines and MacCarthys, and defeated, and amongst those mortally wounded was Sir Thomas Norris, the President of Munster.[18] At Limerick, he took council with the Earls of Clanricarde and Ormond and Thomond, and with O'Connor Sligo, and strengthened the garrisons, and then marched south by Mallow and Fermoy, and finally reached Waterford. Except Lord Barry, all the nobles and chiefs had joined the Earl of Desmond (the Sugane Earl). As Essex marched, he was constantly attacked, and when he arrived at Waterford, his army was dispirited and diminished. On his march north he was harassed by the Wexford and Wicklow septs. There were no big battles, but many skirmishes, in which little glory was gained on either side; and when the Viceroy arrived in Dublin his ranks were still further thinned. In the meantime a body of 600 English under Sir H. Harrington had been encountered in Wicklow by an inferior number of the O'Byrnes, and disgracefully defeated. The English fled without striking a blow; and so enraged was Essex that the first officer who ran away was executed as a coward; the remaining officers were dismissed; and of the soldiers every tenth man was put to death.[19] After three months in Ireland, and 20,000 men under his command, Essex had done nothing except to make this march through Munster and Leinster; and he brought back to Dublin a diminished and dispirited army, while O'Neill in Ulster and O'Donnell in Connaught were still strong and unsubdued.

Such poor results were bitterly disappointing to the Queen. She thought Essex had done nothing in Munster which the President might not have done with 1,000 men, for the taking of Cahir Castle was nothing more than capturing a fortress from a rabble of rogues. She condemned the Irish Council for the advice they gave, and sharply told them that they were favouring Popery, and in secret sympathy with Tyrone. She insisted above all that he should be struck down, and she readily acceded to the further demand of Essex for an additional 2,000 men.[20] With these troops, and with the reproaches and taunts of the Queen ringing in his ears, Essex was

[18] O'Sullivan, pp. 119-20.
[19] Carew, p. 312.
[20] *Carew Papers*, pp. 315-17; Atkinson's *Calendar*, pp. 98-9.

roused to activity, and ordered Clifford to attack O'Donnell in Connaught, while himself would measure swords with O'Neill. But he hesitated, magnified his own difficulties, and the strength of his opponents, and when he got his army together, instead of fighting he commenced to negotiate.

Clifford was a man of different capacity, and having got his orders he proceeded to carry them out as a soldier should. For nearly a year, O'Donnell had fixed his headquarters at Ballymote, and from this he plundered the territory of Clanricarde, as well as that portion of Mayo which still adhered to Theobald of the Ships. Having chastised these two, he entered Clare and laid it waste. As a Protestant and a supporter of the English, the Earl of Thomond did not receive the enthusiastic support of the clansmen of Thomond. O'Donnell met with little opposition, and on his return to Ballymote and Tyrconnell, the roads were covered for miles with cattle and sheep which he had taken.[21] In this destructive inroad he spared nothing except the churches, and the property of the learned men.[22] In mistake he drove off the cattle of MacBriody, the bard of the O'Briens, and the bard followed him to Ballymote and complained of his wrongs; and he composed some verses in O'Donnell's praise, telling him that his success in Thomond was long since foretold, and that the O'Briens were thus punished, because they had formerly destroyed the palace of Aileach, in which the ancestors of O'Donnell had ruled. His flattering verses stood him in good stead, and his cattle and sheep were restored to him.[23] Meanwhile, O'Donnell's relative, Nial Garve, accompanied by MacWilliam, had laid waste the territory of Theobald of the Ships, and the spoil of West Mayo was added to that of Clare. By that time, among the chiefs of North Connaught only O'Connor Sligo still adhered to the Queen, and he stubbornly held out against O'Donnell in his castle of Coolooney. Closely invested and in desperate straits, he appealed to the Viceroy for help, and partly to relieve him, partly also, it was hoped, to crush O'Donnell, Essex directed Sir Conyers Clifford to gather all his forces and march northward to Coolooney.

[21] *Four Masters.*
[22] O'Clery, p. 193.
[23] *Ibid.* p. 199.

Early in August Clifford was at Boyle, and there he was joined by the Earl of Clanricarde. With him also was one of the MacSweenys who had been slighted by O'Donnell for the chieftaincy, and, in revenge, had gone over to the enemy. Clifford's forces amounted to 1,900 foot and 200 horse. His instructions were to march from Boyle to Coolooney through the passes of the Curlews, relieve O'Connor, then proceed to Beleek on the Erne, and draw off part of O'Neill's forces, while Essex by a simultaneous movement was to attack O'Neill by way of Newry and Armagh.[24] As part of Clifford's plan, Theobald of the Ships who was aiding from the sea, was to transport building materials from Galway, and, landing at Sligo, was to rebuild its lately ruined castle. To meet the threatened attack, O'Donnell directed MacWilliam with 400 men to prevent the landing of his rival; Nial Garve was to continue the siege of Coolooney; O'Donnell himself went forward, to guard the passes of the Curlews. With no enemy in his rear, he carefully watched the enemy in front, and for two months he waited for the threatened attack. At last, on the 14th of August, O'Donnell's scouts made the discovery that the English army was in motion towards the Curlews. O'Neill was informed, and advanced by forced marches to the relief of his ally; but was unable to come up in time, and O'Donnell was therefore compelled to meet the English with an army inferior in numbers, and which had been weakened by the forces detached to watch Sligo and Coolooney. It might have been more prudent to have fallen back and wait for the arrival of O'Neill, but O'Donnell resolved to contest the passage of the enemy, even with the forces at his command. One of the passes was easily defended, and he sent O'Rorke with a small force of 300 men to guard it; but he judged that it was at another pass, more to the west, that the assault would be made, and there he made his preparations for defence. A quarter of a mile from the entrance to the pass, he erected a strong barricade, and placed a few sentries there; the pass itself up the mountain side was through a bog, and further on through a wood, and was so narrow that not more than twelve men could ride abreast; and along its length felled trees were strewn.

[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 203-5

On the eve of the battle the whole army fasted, and the following morning, received the sacraments of Penance and the Blessed Eucharist. It was the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, one of the great feasts of the Mother of God, and the fasting and the reception of the sacraments were all done in her honour. The whole army thus felt they were entitled to her protection; they were fighting the battle of the ancient faith, and against the soldiers of a heretic queen. O'Donnell addressed his men in impassioned words, bade them remember they were fighting for their altars and their homes; that on their side was right and justice, on the English side was injustice and robbery; that the choice before them was to fight and conquer, or be put in prison and in chains, dragged through the streets of English towns, as objects of mockery and derision. He told them not to be alarmed by the number of the English or the strangeness of their arms, but to put their trust and confidence in God alone. He was confident they would win. He who fell in the battle would fall gloriously, fighting for justice and liberty; his name would be mentioned while there was an Irishman on the face of the earth; he who survived would be pointed to as the companion of O'Donnell, and the defender of his country; in the church, the people would make way for him as he passed to the altar, murmuring respectfully as they did so "that hero fought at Dunaveeragh." [25]

At four o'clock in the afternoon the English army entered the Curlews in three divisions. Sir Alexander Ratcliffe commanded the vanguard; Clifford himself was in command of the main body; Sir Arthur Savage was in charge of the rear guard. The cavalry were under Sir Griffin Markham, and were left at the foot of the Curlews. On such a road as that which traversed the mountains, with bog and wood on either hand, only infantry could be employed. When Clifford reached the barricade erected by O'Donnell, it was occupied by 400 Irish, who fired a few shots and then retired, leaving the barricade in English hands. The bog was passed without further incident, but at the wood their advance was more seriously disputed. A force of 600 men—gunmen, javelin-throwers, and

[5] O'Clery, p. 211-13; Four Masters.

archers—was placed there by O'Donnell under command of MacDermott. Driven by the English from his ancient patrimony round Boyle, he thirsted for revenge, and from the shelter of the wood he poured repeated volleys into the enemy's ranks. Yet Ratcliffe gallantly continued his advance, and the Irish were driven back. Further on, the road was skirted by another wood on one side and a hill on the other, and when the English reached this point, MacDermott's force was again ready to receive them. By this time O'Rorke had come up. Finding that the pass which he guarded was not to be attacked, he had hurried across the country to lend his aid, and had just arrived with all his forces, of which 160 were gallowglasses, covered with chain mail and carrying heavy battle-axes in their hands. At first, MacDermott's men bore the whole weight of the English attack. The ground suited them better than their opponents; they stubbornly disputed every inch; and from the wood on one side, and the hill on the other they poured volley after volley into the advancing masses. Instead of the Irish wavering, it was the enemy who wavered. Ratcliffe, placing himself at their head, was preparing to charge, but had his leg broken by a gunshot wound. He shouted to Colonel Cosby, the next in command, to take his place, but Cosby was a coward, and refused the dangerous post; the English vanguard fell back and threw the main body into confusion; the main body fell back on the rearguard. In such a narrow space, the gallowglasses of O'Rorke were hitherto unable to take their share in the battle, and had remained inactive behind MacDermott's troops. But their time had now come, and with their terrible battle-axes they fell upon the disordered and panic-stricken English, while MacDermott's men, opening out on either side, continued to assail them on the flanks.

The English, ceasing to resist, rolled in headlong flight down the hill. Clifford endeavoured to rally them, but it was useless. Alone he turned back to face his pursuers. Two of his officers sought to dissuade him; they even carried him along some distance by force; but he burst from them, determined not to survive such a disaster, and was soon cut down by the stroke of a pike. One other attempt was made to rally the fugitives by Sir

Griffin Markham. He had been ordered, some time back, to follow the army, and with all his cavalry he was leisurely advancing along the road, expecting his countrymen had been victorious rather than defeated. His efforts were useless; even the cavalry became as panic-stricken as the foot, and were soon rushing in headlong flight down the hill. The guard at the barricade fled without firing a shot; the Curlews were again passed by the broken remains of Clifford's army, who continued their terror-stricken flight until they were safe behind the sheltering battlements of Boyle. The victory was gained by MacDermott and O'Rorke, with about 800 men, and with the loss of but 240, while the English lost 1,400; their commander and many others of their principal officers were slain; and arms, ammunition, standards, baggage and military stores fell into the victor's hands. The governor's body was taken to the monastery of the Holy Trinity near Boyle. His head was cut off, and sent to Red Hugh, by whom it was sent to Nial Garve, then besieging Coolooney; and when it was shown to O'Connor Sligo, he delivered up his castle and submitted. Theobald of the Ships also deserted the English, and returned to Galway; and O'Donnell invested O'Connor with the chieftaincy of his territory, and made him many presents of horses and cattle.[26]

During the progress of these events Essex remained inactive, nor did he proceed against Tyrone until the last days of August, a fortnight after the battle of the Curlews; and the journey he made through Leinster and Munster, the garrisons he left at various points, and the desertions from his army, had so attenuated his ranks that he could muster but 3,000 men, a force entirely insufficient to crush the northern chief.[27] The Irish and English armies stood facing each other, a little beyond Louth, but instead of fighting there were negotiations. The two Earls met on the opposite banks of a little stream, O'Neill spurring his horse into the river, and during the whole interview, he remained uncovered. For half an hour they spoke apart, and then six others were summoned on

[26] *Four Masters*; O'Clery, pp. 209-23; *Tracts Relating to Ireland*, Vol. II. (Dymok's *Narrative*), pp. 44-7; Atkinson's *Calendar* (1599-1600), pp. 113-14, where the total killed and wounded is put at less than 500.
[27] Dymok, pp. 48 *et seq.*

each side to the conference. O'Neill demanded that the Catholic religion should be tolerated; that the judges and principal officers of State, and half the army in Ireland should be Irish born; and that the lands held by himself and O'Donnell, and the Earl of Desmond (the Sugane Earl), and their ancestors, back for 200 years, should be given them. Essex was favourably impressed by his antagonist, but he felt he had no power to assent to these conditions; they should be submitted to the Queen, and in the meantime a truce was agreed to, which was to last for six weeks, and to be then renewable for six weeks further, and so on till the following May, each side being free to commence hostilities on giving a fortnight's notice to the other. When the Queen was informed of these proceedings, she sent a letter to Essex full of bitter reproaches, of taunts and jibes and sneers; wanted to know why he had not crushed O'Neill with an army such as had never before been sent to Ireland; spoke of O'Neill as a rebel and a traitor, whom no one would believe, and whom to trust on oath would be the same as to "trust the devil upon his religion." She still insisted on the old conditions of planting garrisons in his territory, of his delivering up the sons of Shane O'Neill, of coming to England in person to beg for mercy. The former royal favourite had fallen low, and wishing to explain his conduct, and to recover the favour he had lost, he hastened to London. But he was banished from the Court, and two years later was put to death.[28]

When leaving Ireland, Essex committed the government to two Lords Justices, Archbishop Loftus and Sir George Carey. The truce with Tyrone was continued, and negotiations for peace were still continued also. The Queen herself was weary of the war, and most desirous of peace, but would not grant any reasonable conditions, and when O'Neill insisted on freedom of conscience for all Ireland he was directed to demand something reasonable, for her Majesty would no more yield to that demand than give her crown off her head.[29] The Irish chief also complained that the truce, though faithfully observed on his own side, was not observed on the English side; and the Earl of Essex, the man he trusted

[28] *Four Masters, Carew Papers*, pp. 325-7.
[29] *Carew Papers*, p. 349.

most, was a prisoner in the Tower of London, and in the members of the Irish Council, who had already deceived him, he put no faith.[30] Such being the case, he gave the requisite 14 days notice to end the truce, and early in the new year (1600), both sides prepared to renew the war.

The skill with which O'Neill had so far baffled all the power of England, had made his name known and respected on the Continent of Europe. The new King of Spain, Philip III., renewed his promises to lend assistance; and some time before the battle of the Curlews was fought, a Spanish ship landed in Tyrconnell, bringing arms for 2,000 men, one half of which O'Donnell kept for himself, the other half he sent to his ally of Tyrone. In addition to this, Oviedo, the newly appointed Archbishop of Dublin, brought from the Pope to O'Neill 22,000 gold pieces, and also a phœnix plume blessed by his Holiness; and he was also empowered to grant indulgences to those who fought on the Irish side against the persecuting English Queen.[31] Thus recognised as the head of the Catholic confederacy in Ireland, O'Neill, in January, 1600, made a journey to Munster, partly as a pilgrimage to Holy Cross in Tipperary, and partly also to see for himself what was the state of Munster; and though he did not assume the title of King, his journey resembled a royal progress. The Earl of Desmond and others, impressed with the extent of his power, willingly renewed their allegiance; from those he suspected he took hostages; those he found in correspondence with the English he threw into prison; and Donal MacCarthy he displaced from the chieftaincy of his clan, and put Florence MacCarthy, a more devoted adherent, in his place. He tried hard to persuade Lord Barry to join him; but Barry answered that he held his lands from the Queen, his rightful sovereign, and he hoped with her help some day to chastise O'Neill for having wasted his lands, imprisoned his friends, and drove away his horses and cattle. As for the English troops, they kept within their garrisons, unable to face the northern chief.[32]

While in the neighbourhood of Cork, his lieutenant, Hugh

[30] *Carew Papers*, pp. 341, 348. Atkinson's *Calendar*, pp. 240-1.
[31] Mitchel's *Life of Hugh O'Neill*. p. 164.
[32] Mitchel, pp. 165-7.

Maguire, went out from the main body, at the head of a patrolling party of cavalry, and accidentally encountered Sir Warham St. Leger, one of the Queen's commissioners for Munster. St. Leger was accompanied by a small body of troops, and had gone out from the city to take the air, and coming upon the Irish chief unexpectedly he discharged his pistol and mortally wounded him. Before Maguire fell, however, he had strength left to rush at his assailant, and with one blow of his battle-axe he struck him from his horse dead. The loss of Maguire was as keenly felt on the Irish side, as it was a cause of elation to the English, amongst whom he was considered, and with justice, to be the stoutest rebel of his name. There was no more fighting on the Irish side, and no more losses, and when O'Neill had thus regulated the affairs of Munster to his satisfaction, he marched northwards to his own province of Ulster.[33]

[33] *Four Masters*; O'Clery, pp. 225-7.

CHAPTER X.

The Turn of the Tide.

In the same month that O'Neill went to Munster, the Earl of Essex was succeeded as Viceroy by Sir Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy. He had fought in the Netherlands; afterwards he was a good deal about the English court, and was a special favourite of the Earl of Essex and of the Queen. Recognising his talents, she was about appointing him Irish Viceroy, in 1599; but, for the time, Court influence was against him, and it was Essex who received the appointment. In the disturbed condition in which Ireland then was, it seemed strange to commit its government and the suppression of a formidable rebellion to such a man as Mountjoy. He was a scholar rather than a statesman or a soldier. He was something of a dandy in his dress, of an epicure in his tastes, fond of study and flowers and rich furniture. From Oxford University he did not bring a large amount of knowledge, but he was studious and loved to mix with scholars and wits. History he knew well; French and Italian he understood but could not speak; philosophy he loved to study. But his chief delight was in theology. He had read carefully the Fathers and the Schoolmen, and for a time was disposed to accept the Catholic faith, and he could defend its doctrines well. But he soon found it more profitable to accept the reformed creed, and to defend it with ability. He quoted readily texts of Scripture and passages from the Fathers; and his secretary declared that he often confuted the most learned of the Papists, and that for a layman, he never knew anyone who was

his equal in disputing with them. In Ireland he soon showed that he was something more than a scholar with a taste for theology and disputation. He was cool and calculating and painstaking, laid his plans with care and carried them out with patience, had a clear vision and an inflexible will, and was absolutely without scruple as to means; and Hugh O'Neill soon found that, of all the Viceroys with whom he had to deal, Mountjoy was his most formidable foe.[1]

When he arrived in Ireland he found that the insurgents were in great strength, and that over the greater part of the country English power had disappeared. In Ulster, there were English garrisons at Carrickfergus and Newry; but other garrisons there were none either in the north or east; and throughout the whole extent of Tyrconnell, there was not a single English garrison. In Connaught, Athlone and Galway were still loyal, but there was scarce any other part of the province which the English could call their own. O'Connor Sligo and Theobald of the Ships had joined O'Donnell; the Earl of Clanricarde was thought to be wavering; but his son, Lord Dunkellin, was enthusiastically loyal, and the same could be said of the Earl of Thomond. Crossing the Shannon into Munster, except Lord Barry and a few others of lesser importance, the whole province had reverted to the Irish. The Earl of Ormond kept Kilkenny and Tipperary from joining in the rebellion, but all around him was in revolt. Owny MacRory was in possession of the Queen's County, the O'Connors of the King's County; in Kildare the Birminghams had revolted; in Wicklow and Wexford the O'Byrnes and O'Tooles and the Kavanaghs; in the county of Dublin the Walshes and the Harolds had lately plundered and spoiled up to the city walls.[2] Even the towns were secretly hostile to England, and willingly sold arms and ammunition to the insurgents. Another element of weakness was the condition of the English army. It was disorganized and demoralized. The officers were appointed rather by favour than by merit, and spent their time in gambling and pleasure; the officers of the commissariat department were corrupt, and

1 Fynes Moryson, pp. 45-8.
2 Moryson, pp. 50-1.

supplied inferior food and inferior clothes; and the result was that most part of the army were like beggarly ghosts, and were more willing to go to the gallows than to the battlefield. [3]

The instructions given in the preceding year to Essex were repeated and emphasised to Mountjoy. He was to direct all his strength against O'Neill and O'Donnell; he was to advance Protestantism, but there was to be no general persecution of the Catholics. Such treatment would exasperate the people, and might bind them together in mutual defence. For the time, a policy of toleration was to be adopted, and when the rebellion was crushed, toleration would cease. As for Tyrone, there was to be no further negotiation with him; he was to be cut off as a reprobate to God, and left to the force of the sword; but if he came as "an abject person," penitent and humble, craving mercy for himself, and not presuming to speak for others, he was to be received. Other chiefs, if they submitted, might be pardoned on conditions, one special condition being that they should murder their confederates in rebellion. An army of 14,000 foot and 2,000 horse was to be at the disposal of Lord Mountjoy. In Connaught, Lord Dunkellin was put in supreme command; Sir Henry Dowcra with 4,000 men was to plant garrisons at Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon; and Sir George Carew was sent to Munster as President, with an army of 3,000 men. [4]

Early in March, the Earl of Tyrone returned to Ulster. He believed he had left Munster in a satisfactory condition, weakened the English there, and lighted a fire which Carew would be unable to extinguish. Mountjoy was warned of his movements, and had high hopes that, on his march northwards, he could be overtaken and destroyed. And it did seem impossible for him to escape. If he crossed the Shannon, the Earls of Thomond and Clanricarde were to fall upon him; if he went east of the river, Ormond would encounter him; and if he escaped Ormond the Deputy was at Mullingar to intercept him. But Tyrone, by the rapidity and secrecy of his march, baffled them all. Keeping close to the

[3] *Carew Papers*, pp. 353-4.

[4] Fynes Moryson, p. 56; *Carew Papers*, pp. 356-62; Atkinson's *Calendar*, pp. 440-7.

Shannon, he escaped Ormond, who lay about Cashel; and to avoid the Deputy he marched west of Mullingar, and so arrived safely in Tyrone; nor had he with him more than 600 men.[5]

On his return to Dublin, the Viceroy proceeded to carry out his plans, and in May, Sir Henry Dowcra with 4,000 foot and 200 horse sailed up Lough Foyle, landed without opposition, and erected a fortified camp at Culmore, where he left a garrison of 600 men, then advancing up the river he took possession of Derry, and built two strong forts there. The stones he procured from an old cathedral church which he had destroyed, the timber he got from O'Cahan's territory; but he confesses that the soldiers sent to cut it were met with fierce opposition, and that not a stick was brought away but was well fought for.[6] On the opposite side of the river he erected another fort at Dunnalong.[6] To co-operate with Dowcra while thus engaged, Mountjoy with nearly 2,000 men marched north and assailed O'Neill in front. From Dundalk he went to Newry and Armagh, while O'Neill burned Armagh, demolished the fort of Portmore, and hoped apparently to draw on the English still further into the woods, and then fall upon them and destroy them. But Mountjoy would not be drawn. He had accomplished his object, which was to give time to Dowcra; he found that O'Neill had thrown up trenches, and he thought it safer to return again to Newry. As he returned through the Moyry Pass, O'Neill assailed him, and some severe skirmishes took place; but the Irish did not attack in force, and the Deputy returned to Dundalk, and to Dublin.[7]

Relieved from anxiety from the south, Tyrone was able to proceed north, and with O'Donnell besieged Derry, but, for want of heavy ordnance, he was unable to batter down the defences, and he went home, leaving O'Donnell to continue the siege. But that species of warfare was ill-suited to the fiery and impetuous Red Hugh. The besieged were careful to keep within their fortified position; in a mere trial of endurance, O'Donnell's patience was soon exhausted; and instead of remaining before Derry, he left

[5] Moryson, pp. 54-8; Carew, p. 368.
[6] Dowcra's *Narrative*.
[7] Moryson, pp. 65-8.

portion of his army under Nial Garve to continue the siege, while himself went on a plundering expedition into Clare. As the Earl of Thomond was too weak to resist him, he spoiled, and wasted, and burned. From his headquarters at Ennis, he sent out marauding parties in all directions, and when the country was swept bare of everything he returned home to Tyrconnell, plundering Clanricarde's territory on his way.[8]

Dowcra, in the meantime, was joined by Sir Art O'Neill, and by MacSweeney; but their aid was of little importance, and, on the few occasions he sallied forth from his entrenchments, he effected little. On his return from Clare, O'Donnell lay in ambush near Derry, and when the English horses were sent out in the morning to graze, 160 of them were captured; and the English troops who endeavoured to recapture them were driven back, Dowcra himself being severely wounded. By the end of August, the position of the besieged was critical, their numbers reduced, their provisions all but spent. Just then, Rory O'Cahan came in, offering to serve, and bringing with him some fat beeves. Dowcra was thankful for the beeves, but was distrustful of O'Cahan, thinking he was acting in the interests of Tyrone; and when O'Cahan asked for the command of 800 men, promising some notable service, and his request was not complied with, he went back to the Irish side. Dowcra's difficulties increased. Art O'Neill died on his hands; O'Cahan deserted him; his men were wearied with continual labour and watching; great numbers of them were sick; provisions were running short—he had nothing but meal and butter, and a little wine; and to weaken him still further, O'Neill and O'Donnell had offered a free passage through their territories to those who would desert him, and go to England. The forts at Derry were not strong, and O'Donnell was constantly round the walls with 2,000 men. Everything urged him to continue the siege, but again his impatience saved his enemies, as it proved the ruin of himself; and instead of remaining in Derry, he went on a new plundering expedition into Clare, leaving Nial Garve to continue the siege. Nial Garve was not only the cousin of Red Hugh, but he was also married to his sister. He was rough

[8] O'Clery, pp. 237-45.

in speech and in manner, and with considerable capacity for war. By right of birth he believed he had a better right to the chieftaincy of Tyrconnell than had Red Hugh himself, and, being ambitious, he was dissatisfied with a subordinate position. Dowcra saw his opportunity, and in Red Hugh's absence, he offered in the Queen's name to make Nial Chief of Tyrconnell. The bait took, and Nial, betraying his trust, and his country, went over to the English with 40 horse and 60 foot. Placed by Dowcra at the head of more than 500 men, he ravaged the country round Derry, attacked O'Doherty, and captured the castle of Lifford, from which he spoiled the country around, thus keeping the English troops well supplied with provisions, and still further weakening their foes.[9]

At Ballymote, Red Hugh heard of his cousin's treachery, and hastened back to Lifford, which he besieged with 800 men. More than once Nial sallied forth, and the two cousins became engaged, but with little advantage on either side. In the meantime a Spanish ship put in at Killybegs, with arms and ammunition and money from the King of Spain. With part of his forces, Red Hugh went to Killybegs, and the money and arms received he divided with his ally of Tyrone. He had left his brother Rory near Lifford to watch the garrison there, but Rory was unable to checkmate the enemy, and Nial repeatedly laid waste that part of Tyrone adjacent to Lifford.[10] Nor was Hugh O'Neill able to stay the progress of Nial, as he was elsewhere engaged; for Mountjoy had again marched to Dundalk and Armagh, and erected a new fort, which he called Mount Norris. On his return by way of Carlingford, he was furiously assailed by O'Neill, nor did he make good his passage, but with the loss of 200 killed and 400 wounded.[11]

But the activity of the Deputy was not confined during this period to Ulster. On his way south, in April, Carew and the Earl of Thomond visited the Earl of Ormond at Kilkenny. He was about having an interview with Owny MacRory, and brought his visitors with him. Their bodyguard consisted of 16 horsemen,

[9] *Four Masters;* Dowcra's *Narrative;* O'Clery, *Introduction,* pp. 124-6.

[10] O'Clery, pp. 254-65.

[11] Moryson, pp. 79-84.

and a few gentlemen mounted on horses, and armed only with swords; Owny, on the other hand, had 500 soldiers hidden in a neighbouring wood. During the interview, high words passed between Ormond and Father Archer, a Jesuit who accompanied Owny; the soldiers in the wood got alarmed, and believed their master was attacked, and rushing in, they seized Ormond and carried him off. Thomond was wounded in the melee, and Carew escaped with difficulty. Mountjoy had little sympathy with Ormond. He was jealous of his power, and of his influence with the Queen; he even threw doubts on his loyalty, and was ready to believe that he was a willing captive. And when Owny offered to release him on condition that the English evacuated the Queen's County, and gave pledges to have no more garrisons planted there, Mountjoy scornfully rejected the offer, and in the following month made his first journey to Ulster, leaving the prisoner to his fate.[12] O'Neill however, interfered, and directed Owny to release his captive, on condition that he would not serve against those in rebellion. This was in June, and two months later, Mountjoy entered the Queen's County, and was astonished to find the lands so well tilled, the reason given by his historian Moryson being that the Queen's forces had not been there.[13] If they had there would have been disturbance and desolation, and for the purpose of creating such, Mountjoy burned the houses, drove away the cattle, cut down the ripening corn, or tore it up with harrows, and in a short time, corn to the value of £10,000 was thus destroyed. Owny in vain begged Ormond to stop this savagery, and then he fell upon a party of the English, but in the skirmish that followed he was mortally wounded, and great was the jubilation of Mountjoy, for the O'Mores were now left without a leader. The following December the Deputy burst into Wicklow, defeated Phelim O'Byrne, and carried away his wife and son into captivity. In the meantime, the Birminghams of Kildare had submitted, and so also did the Keatings, the Lalors and the Kellys in the Queen's County; Mountjoy overran Wexford and destroyed the corn there, as he

[12] Moryson, pp. 63-5; *Pacata Hibernia*, Vol. I., pp. 18-22; *Carew Papers*, pp. 381-3.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 77.

did in Westmeath, where Tyrell with great skill still bade him defiance. But, except this latter chief, none else of strength held the field throughout Leinster, and more than 3,000 of an army kept the province in awe.[14]

If Mountjoy had been thus successful in Leinster, Carew had been not less so in Munster. After his visit to Kilkenny he hastened south to Waterford, and then turned east by Youghal to Cork. He found Munster in a ferment. It resembled, he thought, a man stricken with a languishing and incurable disease, the head so sore, and the heart so sick, that no member was capable of discharging its natural functions. Most of the chiefs were in actual rebellion, and of the few who were not, the tenants and friends, in some cases the sons and brothers, were; even the towns were so "bewitched with Popish priests," that they were giving underhand aid to the rebels. The capture of Ormond had given them fresh encouragement, and Pierce Lacy, who had lately submitted, was again in arms.[15] The forces which the two principal chiefs, the Sugane Earl, and Florence MacCarthy, could bring into the field were considerable, and were aided by 1,000 hired soldiers from Connaught under Dermott O'Connor, and 500 under the command of Redmond Burke, a nephew of Clanricarde. Carew's own calculation was that the whole force opposed to him amounted to 7,000 men, while his own force did not amount to more than 3,000.[16] But on the Irish side the elements of cohesion were wanting. The leaders were bound together by a rope of sand. Those of English descent wished to remain attached to England; those of native descent remembered that their ancestors were Kings, and were anxious to break with England altogether. All of them professed to fight for religion, but they must have had little religious conviction, and were not prepared to make sacrifices for religion; they were prompted by ambition, by revenge, by jealousy, and were utterly bereft of patriotism, or principle, or public spirit.[17]

It was not the aim of Carew to meet all these chiefs in the field

[14] Moryson, pp. 85-8.
[15] *Pacata Hibernia*, pp. 25-7, 33-4.
[16] Carew, p. 385.
[17] *Carew Papers* (1601-3), p. 168.

and defeat them. He thought he could do better by intrigue, and resolved to try his wit and cunning; and he was well qualified for such work.[18] He was smooth and plausible and cultured, without scruple or shame; and truth and honour in his eyes were but empty names. To conquer Munster for the Queen he was prepared to adopt any means; and threats and terrorism, and false promises and robbery, and murder and forgery, and assassination, were among the weapons he employed. With the Queen he was in high favour. He in turn descended to the grossest flattery; of the Queen, then old and withered and wrinkled, he spoke as if she were Venus, of her divine and angelic eyes, to behold which, added fulness of joy; and he protested that he would be satisfied to kiss the shadow of her royal feet.[19] The insincerity of such language is apparent, but he was certainly attached to the Queen's service, and to his own country; in this respect he was in striking contrast to the Irish leaders in Munster; and it is the only redeeming feature in a character which is one of the basest in history. His first success was with the Waterford Geraldines, who submitted to him without striking a blow; their example was followed by Barrett, and Condon, and the White Knight.[20] Almost immediately, Florence MacCarthy, the friend and nominee of Hugh O'Neill, offered to remain neutral; and Redmond Burke returned to Connaught with his troops. Carew had given him some vague promise to make him Baron of Leitrim, and this was the reason he abandoned his confederates.[21] Two others of the same family, John and Theobald Burke, also submitted themselves to the President, throwing themselves on their knees by his horse's side; and when he disdainfully continued riding and feigned not to see them, they kept craving for mercy, and crawled along on their knees as the horse walked.[22]

The Munster confederacy was rapidly dissolving, but there yet remained the Sugane Earl and Dermott O'Connor. The latter was married to a daughter of the late Earl of Desmond; his brother-

[18] *Pacata Hibernia*, p. 35.
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 40; *Carew Papers*, p. 208.
[20] *Pacata Hibernia*, pp. 27, 38.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 48.
[22] *Ibid.*, p. 62.

in-law, the young Earl, was a prisoner in London; the triumph of the Sugane Earl would involve keeping him out of his inheritance; and Carew rightly judged that in such a cause O'Connor might be induced to play the traitor. Partly perhaps by his own wish, principally through the persuasion of his wife, he agreed to hand over the Sugane Earl to the English for a reward of £1,000.[23] A letter was written by Carew addressed to the Sugane Earl, as if in answer to one of his, making proffers of good service; the letter was given to O'Connor, who informed his soldiers that it had accidentally fallen into his hands, and clearly proved that the Geraldine was a traitor. And as such he arrested him, and lodged him in the fortress of Castlelisheen, sending word by his wife to the President that he was there.[24] But in the meantime O'Connor's treachery became known, and Pierce Lacy with 4,000 men besieged Castlelisheen, and set the prisoner free; and before the year expired, O'Connor was murdered in Connaught.[24] Not more fortunate was another traitor, John Nugent. He had been servant to Sir Thomas Norris, but had joined in the rebellion, and, repenting of his conduct, offered to submit. But Carew would give him no mercy unless he murdered John FitzThomas, the brother of the Sugane Earl, and this he undertook to do. As he rode behind FitzThomas, he aimed his pistol, and was about to fire, when one Coppinger snatched the pistol from him, crying out "Traitor!" He attempted to escape, but was taken and hanged.[25]

In six months, Carew had done much. The Waterford Geraldines, the Burkes, and the White Knight were his allies, the castles of Bruff, Lough Gur, and Croom had surrendered, the castles of Carrigfoyle, Tralee, Castlemaine, and Listowel were taken; the remaining strongholds throughout Kerry were either surrendered, or levelled to the earth rather than be allowed to fall into English hands.[26] Limerick, Kilmallock, Askeaton, and the towns of Kerry were strongly garrisoned by English troops, who preyed upon the surrounding country, cut down the ripening corn or burned it in the haggards,

[23] *Pacata Hibernia*, p. 45.
[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 69-70, 73-4, 153.
[25] *Ibid.*, pp. 59-60.
[26] *Pacata Hibernia*, pp. 90-95.

carried off the cattle and sheep, set fire to the houses, and murdered everyone who fell into their hands. Carew could boast that his soldiers scoured Aherlow, leaving neither man nor beast, corn nor cattle; that all the corn and houses near Limerick were burned; and that in Kerry his troops had killed 1,200 men in arms, not counting women and children and husbandmen, who had also been slain.[27] In September, the Sugane Earl was defeated with heavy loss at Kilmallock, and in the following April he was taken prisoner.[28] Carew was about to execute him at Cork; but the Geraldine begged hard for mercy, and pointed out that, if he were executed, his brother John would be appointed in his place, and thus nothing would be gained. This latter reason had its effect; he might perhaps be more useful alive than dead, and he was sent a prisoner to the Tower of London, where he died. The young Earl, in the meantime, had been sent to Ireland, in the hope of creating division, and when he arrived at Kilmallock, his reception was enthusiastic; but when the people saw him go to the Protestant church their love was turned into hatred; he whom they so lately honoured, they now reviled and despised. The young man, it was seen, was useless to the English; and Cecil wrote to Carew that the easiest way to get rid of him was to have him in some way put to death.[29] So strong did Carew feel that he would not grant pardon to the Baron of Lixnawe or the Knight of the Valley, unless they betrayed or murdered some of their confederates; he would grant no mercy to priests, or to Pierce Lacy, or John FitzThomas.[30] All others he was ready to pardon, and such was the rush to submit that, early in 1601, over 4,000 of these government pardons had been issued.[31]

In Ulster, the rebellion was not so easily stamped out as in Munster. O'Donnell's enemies were lately increased by the desertion of O'Doherty of Innishowen, the reason being that O'Donnell had given the vacant chieftaincy to the lately deceased

[27] *Pacata Hibernia*, p. 158; *Carew Papers*, pp. 428-9, 487.
[28] *Pacata Hibernia*, pp. 126, 216.
[29] *Ibid.*, pp. 132-4.
[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 108, 143; *Carew Papers*, p. 473.
[31] *Ibid.*, p. 180-1.

chief's brother, Phelim, rather than to his son, Cahir. And Cahir was so enraged, that not only did he go over to the English, but he brought with him his friends MacSweeny Fanad, and the MacDevitts.[32] Following quickly on the heels of this desertion, came the news that O'Connor Sligo was in traitorous correspondence with the English. The information came secretly to O'Donnell, and was secretly acted upon; and before O'Connor could carry out his designs, O'Donnell made a rapid march from Lifford to Connaught, seized upon his treacherous ally, and threw him into prison at Lough Esk in Donegal.[33] Nor was this the only danger he had to encounter. In 1601, Carew despatched Sir John Barkley across the Shannon with 1,000 men, and these, joined to Clanricarde's and Thomond's forces, overran portion of Connaught, and menaced Ulster. Yet they effected little, and soon returned to Limerick.[34] Two months later, Lord Dunkellin, by the death of his father, became Earl of Clanricarde, and essayed the task which Barkley had failed to do, and on this occasion Barkley and his English forces were placed under his command. With 1,300 men, he advanced to Boyle, and was there encountered by O'Donnell, with so strong a force that Clanricarde did not venture to attack; and after some desultory and unimportant skirmishes he retreated; nor did O'Donnell molest him on his retreat.[35] The absence of Red Hugh was taken advantage of by Nial Garve, who marched from Lifford to Donegal, overpowered its garrison, and drove out the monks from the monastery, and encamped there.[36] After Clanricarde's departure, O'Donnell marched direct to Donegal, and closely invested the place. The position of Nial and his troops became critical. They were unable to leave their entrenchments, or get provisions from outside except from the sea; and, to make matters worse, the monastery itself took fire in September, and all but one wing of it was consumed. Some relief came by sea from Derry to the besieged, yet their position was perilous, and many of the garrison

[32] O'Clery, pp. 270-1.
[33] *Ibid.*, p. 275; *Four Masters.*
[34] *Ibid.*, p. 279; Carew, pp. 53-5.
[35] O'Clery, pp. 281-3.
[36] *Ibid.*, p. 285.

began to desert to O'Donnell. But with great ability Nial Garve continued to defend himself, and stubbornly refused to surrender. Such was the condition of things in the end of October, when Red Hugh was compelled to raise the siege and march south to Kinsale.[37]

The Earl of Tyrone in the meantime was kept busy, nor was he able to lend assistance to his ally of Tyrconnell. Before the end of April, 1601, MacMahon of Farney, O'Hanlon and Connor Maguire had gone over to the English, Tyrell had been chased from Leinster into Ulster; and in June Mountjoy went through the Moyry Pass to Newry and Armagh, built a strong fort in the Moyry Pass itself, and rebuilt the dismantled fortress of Portmore, and in both these forts placed strong garrisons. The Deputy had asked Carew for 650 men, but was refused. Without these he felt it unsafe to march to Dungannon, as he apparently intended, and in September he returned to Dundalk. Somewhere near Armagh, O'Neill's force made a night attack on his camp, and in this encounter Pierce Lacy from Munster was killed.[38]

It was at this date that the Spaniards arrived in Ireland. Without guns or ammunition, without means of manufacturing them at home, or ships to replenish their supplies from abroad, the Irish were becoming gradually exhausted, and if left to themselves their resistance should soon necessarily cease. Repeatedly O'Neill and O'Donnell had sought aid from Spain, implored Philip, as the champion of their faith, not to allow a Catholic people to be wiped out.[39] But Philip's movements were slow; and the year 1600 passed by, and the greater part of 1601, and no aid came; nor was it until September of the latter year that the Spaniards set sail. Nor did all who left Spain arrive in Ireland, for a large part under Zubiar got separated from the main body, and only 3,500 arrived at Kinsale.[40] And the choice of Don John Daguilla to command the expedition was unfortunate. He had no sympathy with a revolt; no skill in winning the people to his side; he was impetuous and self-willed, without any skill in forming plans, or any patience in

[37] O'Clery, pp. 291-3; *Four Masters*; Dowcra's *Narrative*.
[38] Moryson, pp. 118-31.
[39] O'Clery, *Introduction*, pp. 116-23.
[40] *Pacata Hibernia*, pp. 277, *et seq.*

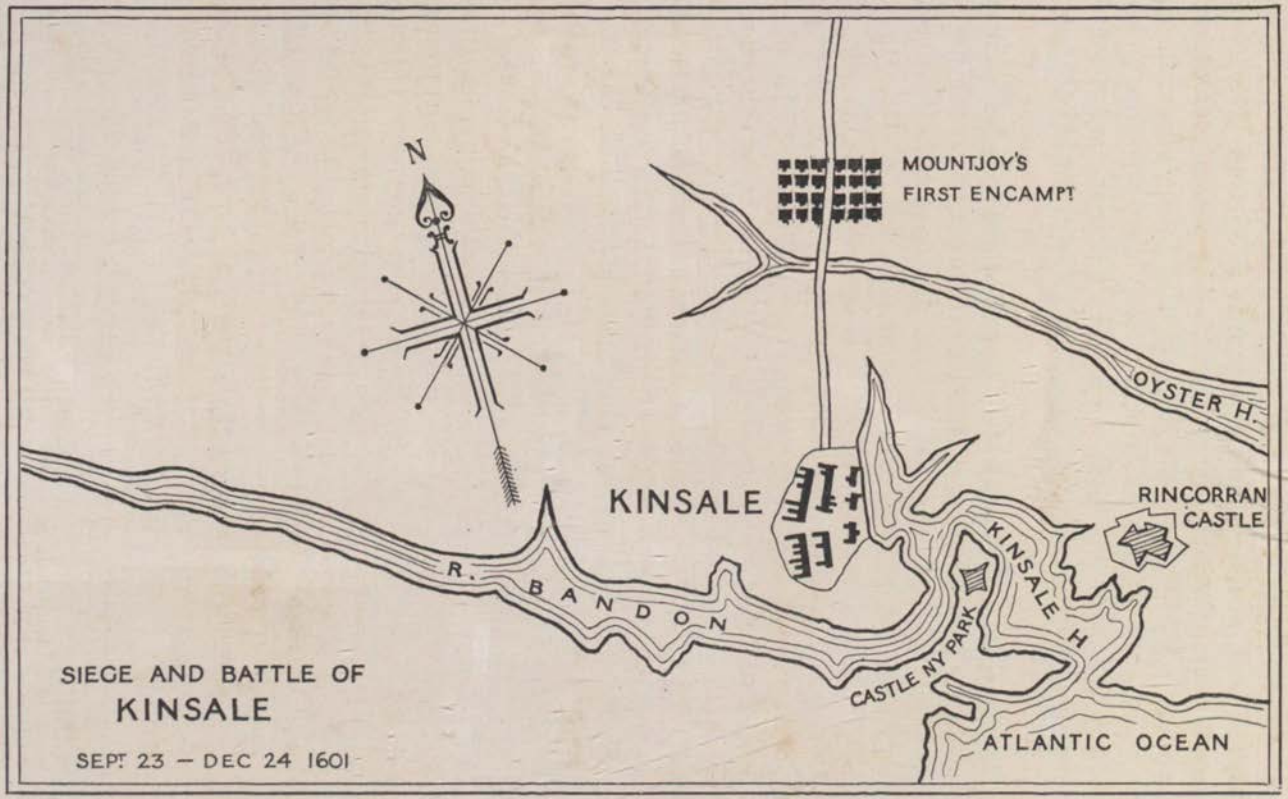
difficulties. He had already commanded in Brittany, but defeats and disasters were all that could be placed to his account, and his incapacity was well established.[41]

Under a capable leader, such an army landed in Ulster, might have done much, or, if landed in Munster, eighteen months earlier. But, in the meantime Carew had effectually crushed the rebellion, and the Sugane Earl was the last of the Munster chiefs who continued in arms. After his capture there yet remained Florence MacCarthy. Of all the Munster leaders he was the most disreputable. The nominee and ostensible supporter of O'Neill, he was corresponding with Mountjoy and Carew; and though he had made promises of service to Carew, and the Queen was ready to make him an Earl, he still posed as the ally of the Ulster chiefs.[42] He was swayed by no motive but interest, was faithful to no friend, and in treachery and duplicity and abandonment of truth and honour, he was without a peer. As the adherent of O'Neill, he could have commanded enormous forces, and could have crushed Carew by the weight of numbers. But his wife would not allow him to remain on that side. She was the daughter of the late Earl of Clancarty; she believed the English would triumph, and perhaps bestow her father's earldom upon her husband; but in any event she vowed that she had no mind to be a pauper, nor to go a-begging, either to Ulster or Spain. But Florence would not boldly take the English side, as his wife wished; and his fate was the fate of those who undertake to serve two masters. Carew from the first distrusted him, but dissembled until the rebellion was crushed; and then, inviting Florence to a conference at Cork, he arrested him on various charges, and sent him a prisoner to London, where he died.[43] At the same time, Carew also arrested and imprisoned all the other Munster chiefs whom he distrusted, lest they might give aid to the strangers; and when Daguilla landed at Kinsale, there was neither an Irish army nor an Irish leader in Munster to give him assistance.[44]

[41] O'Connor's *Military History*, p. 21.
[42] *Carew Papers*, pp. 378, 446, 514-16; Atkinson's *Calendar*, pp. 14-15.
[43] *Pacata Hibernia*, Vol. I., pp. 231-52.
[44] *Carew Papers*, p. 120.

The intended destination of the Spaniards was Cork; and they first arrived there, borne in 45 vessels; but the wind suddenly changed, and, unable to land, they put in at Kinsale. The English garrison there evacuated the place on their approach, and when the Spaniards landed they were well received, and were billeted through the town more readily, says Carew, than if they were the Queen's troops. Daguilla published a proclamation that none would be molested, and that whoever wished to leave might do so, taking their goods with them.[45] Carew and Mountjoy were then at Kilkenny. They had been warned from England that the Spaniards were coming, and had gone to Kilkenny to take counsel. Mountjoy proposed returning to Dublin to make his preparations; Carew's advice was that all their forces be at once sent to Munster, his object being to overawe the natives, lest they might join the Spaniards. This advice was taken, and from all quarters the English and their allies flocked to the south. From England 2,000 soldiers came; the Earl of Thomond arrived with 1,000 more; Clanricarde came from Connaught, and Ormond from Kilkenny; the garrisons were withdrawn from Ulster; and by the middle of October, Mountjoy and Carew were in front of Kinsale in command of 12,000 men.[46] In these circumstances Daguilla sent urgent letters to the Ulster chiefs, begging them to come to his assistance; and O'Donnell, leaving his brother Rory to watch Nial Garve and the English, set out for Munster, with nearly 2,000 men. The force of 2,000 men which Carew took from Kinsale was at least twice that number when he arrived at Cashel, for further reinforcements had been sent. Yet he was in no hurry to fight; and O'Donnell wished to reserve his strength, and taking advantage of a frost which had made even the bogs passable for troops, he turned west, and passed over the mountains of Slieve Felim; and within 24 hours had reached Croom, a distance of 40 English miles, the greatest march with carriage that Carew had ever heard of before.[47] Passing through Duhallow and Muskerry, O'Donnell arrived at Kinsale, about the middle of November.

[45] *Pacata Hibernia*, pp. 277-80.
[46] *Ibid.*, pp. 287-93.
[47] *Ibid.*, Vol. II., pp. 8-12.



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The narrow channel which connects Kinsale with the open sea was guarded on each side by two strong castles, Rincorran on the east, and Castle ny Park on the west, in both of which Spanish garrisons had been put, and thus was the town protected on the sea side. On the land side, it was more difficult to protect. The position of the town itself, on the slope of Compass Hill, laid it open to be swept by an enemy's batteries placed on the ascending side. But Daguilla had done the best he could; had built up the crumbling walls; and from the bastions his cannon were pointed to deal death on an advancing foe. On the 16th of October, Mountjoy encamped 5 miles from Kinsale. He had not yet a sufficient supply of artillery; but, on the 23rd, his wants in this respect were supplied, and three days later he crossed Oyster Haven and pitched his camp on the Spittle, and on the 29th attacked Rincorran Castle. Daguilla endeavoured to relieve it from the sea, but was unable, and after a heroic defence the garrison capitulated, on condition that their lives were spared. On the 10th of November, Daguilla published a proclamation that any of his soldiers who quitted his post, without directions from his officers, should be punished with death. Yet in spite of all this the besiegers gained ground. The capture of Rincorran allowed the English admiral, Levison, to enter the harbour with his ships, and the town was soon invested completely both by sea and land. Castle ny Park was then assailed, and as the Spaniards in the town could lend no assistance, the garrison was compelled to surrender; and such was the progress made by the English, that, on the 28th, they summoned the town to surrender. Their messenger was not allowed to enter, but was informed at the gate that the Spaniards held the town for Christ and for the King of Spain, and were ready to defend it against anyone and everyone who might assail it.[48]

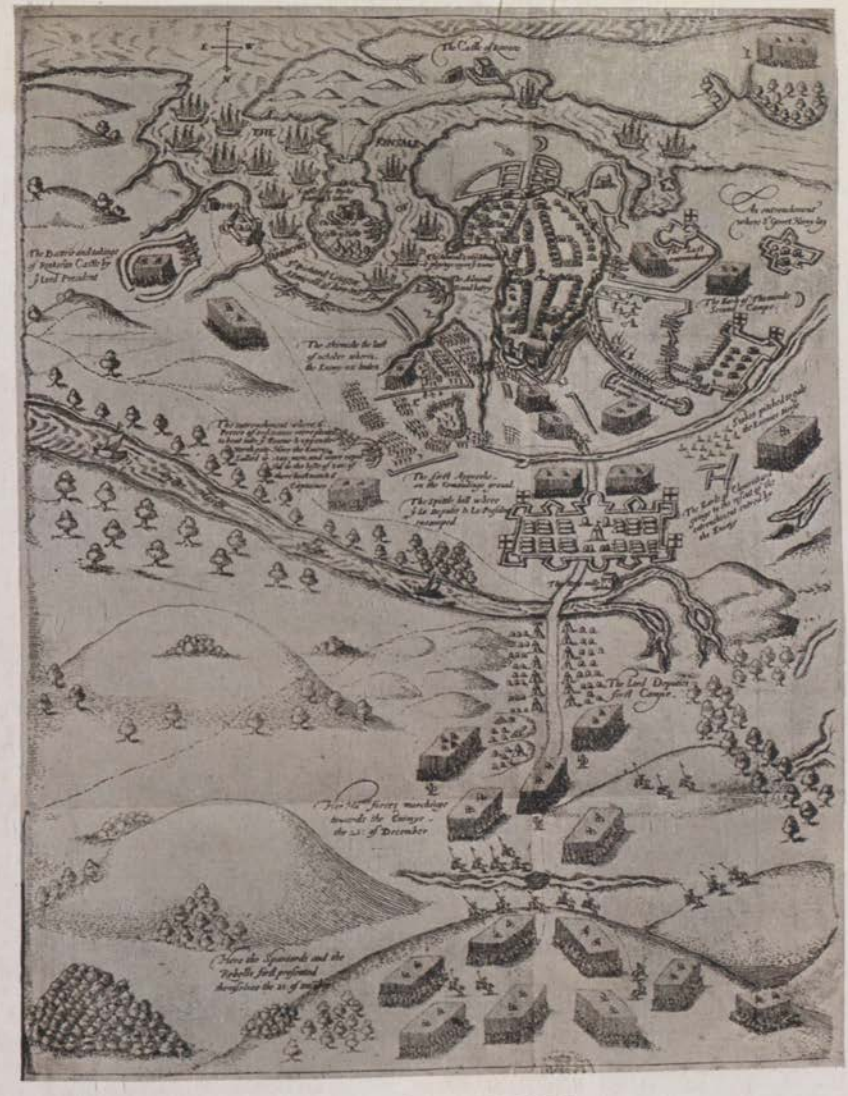
So far the advantage lay with the English. Gradually, but surely, their entrenchments were pushed nearer the walls; the Earl of Thomond on the west side, and the Deputy and Carew on the east side, continued to advance; and by the end of November, had planted their heavy guns so near that they could play upon,

[48] *Carew Papers*, pp. 179-88; Moryson, pp. 127-51; *Pacata Hibernia*, I., pp. 275-302.

and batter down, the walls. On the two last nights of November, and the first of December, a breach was made on the east side, and the gate broken down; the entrenchments approached the walls on the west side, where cannon were planted on a small fort built there; and it was evidently the intention of the besiegers to enter the breach, and carry the town by storm. But on the night of the 2nd of December the Spaniards sallied from the town and furiously assailed the enemy; endeavoured to spike their cannon, and to some extent succeeded; damaged the fort lately built on the west side, and captured portion of the entrenchments, and would have held them but for the arrival of fresh troops under the Earl of Clanricarde. The result of this vigorous sally was that the English abandoned the idea of carrying the place by storm.[49] Nor was this all that happened to dispirit them. Additional troops to reinforce Daguilla had set out from Spain in 12 vessels, but the winds separated them on the sea, and 6 vessels were forced to put back to Corunna; the remainder reached Castlehaven in safety; and when they landed, to the number of 700, Levison was sent from Kinsale with his fleet, and landed men and heavy guns to assail them. But his reception was entirely unexpected, for the Munster chiefs, who had lately submitted to the President, now revolted to the Spaniards. The O'Driscolls surrendered their castles to them; O'Sullivan Beare gave them his castle at Dunboy; and O'Connor Kerry his castle at Carrigfoyle. Instead of Levison being aided by the Irish, he was attacked by them; his ships, moored close to the land, were attacked by the Spanish and O'Sullivan Beare; some damage indeed was done the Spanish transport vessels, but still more to the English; and when Levison got back to Kinsale, it was in a battered and helpless condition, and with the loss of 500 of his men. All West Munster revolted; the Spaniards under Ocampo joined themselves to O'Donnell, and set up their headquarters at Bandon; and on the west of Kinsale, the English besieging the town were themselves besieged.[50] The Spaniards in Kinsale grew bold, and night after night sallied from the town; and

[49] *Carew Papers*, pp. 189-90; Moryson, pp. 165-6; *Pacata Hibernia*, pp. 30-6.

[50] *Pacata Hibernia*, Vol. II., pp. 37-44.



THE SIEGE OF KINSALE

FROM PACATA HIBERNIA

in these night attacks the English lost many of their men. Their supplies became scarce; they were compelled to keep within their encampments; the winter was severe; the hardships of the campaign told heavily on the troops; the English soldiers especially were sick and weary; dozens died every day; the sentinel was often found dead at his post; desertion became common; the army was rapidly melting away; and by the 20th of December the effective fighting force was reduced to about 6,000 men.

It was at this juncture that O'Neill arrived with 4,000 men and, pitching his camp at Belgooly, besieged the English on the north and east as effectually as O'Donnell had done on the west. All communication with the country round was thus denied the besiegers; the men continued to die from cold and hunger, the horses for want of forage; the numbers who died and were buried within the camp bred sickness among the survivors; only 2,000 English remained; and O'Neill's expectation was that the remainder who were Irish would desert; and his simple, but effective, plan was to continue the siege until the English were exhausted and compelled to surrender.[51] But, unfortunately for himself and for Ireland, his hands were forced. Daguilla had sent urgent letters representing the hardships of his position, and the weakness of the enemy; if the Irish chiefs attacked them from outside he would co-operate from the town, and the result would be certain victory. O'Neill was not convinced, and would still wait, knowing that time was on his side. The Spaniards were in no danger; too much depended on the issue of the contest to run risks; and he foresaw clearly that the defeat of the Irish at Kinsale would be the ruin of their cause. But O'Donnell was for attacking at once. Eight years of victory had given him unbounded self-confidence; he was no longer disposed to adopt the more cautious and wiser advice of O'Neill; and he declared it would be a shame and a disgrace if they did not respond to Daguilla's appeal. At the council of war held there were others as hot-headed as O'Donnell; O'Neill was outvoted, but not convinced, and against his better judgment, preparations were made for attacking the English on the night of the 23rd of

[51] O'Clery, pp. 309-11.

December.[52] The Irish troops were good at guerilla warfare, but had no experience in storming entrenchments, and were ill-fitted for such work; and to spoil all their chances, the English were forewarned and, therefore, prepared. For the inevitable Irish traitor who has dogged and ruined every Irish movement was at hand, and a certain Brian MacMahon from Ulster sent the English warning that they were to be attacked. His son, it seems, had been some years before a page to Sir George Carew in England, and for old times' sake he sent a message to Carew for a bottle of whiskey. It was sent, and so grateful was MacMahon that he informed Carew of the meditated attack on the 23rd of December. The list of Irish traitors is a long one, but our history records no more infamous transaction than this bartering of faith and country for a bottle of whiskey.

Instead of surprising the enemy, the Irish were themselves surprised. The night was dark and stormy, the guides lost their way; and when they arrived at the English trenches, weary, exhausted, and dispirited, the morning of the 24th had dawned, and they found the English quite ready, horses saddled, men standing to arms. In these circumstances O'Neill's army fell back, intending to defer the attack. They retired in some disorder; the disorder was noted by the enemy; and the Deputy, leaving Carew to watch the Spaniards in the town, took with him 1,200 foot, and 400 horse, and pursued the retreating Irish. The route lay through a boggy glen, cut by a stream at the north-west of the town; and Mountjoy, knowing the capacity both of O'Neill and O'Donnell, was reluctant to pursue them, fearing that they were only enticing him to his ruin. But he was assured that the country beyond was an open and level plain; the Earl of Clanricarde who, with Wingfield, led the cavalry, was especially eager to attack; and when the order was given he fell on the disordered and retreating mass. With some cavalry, O'Donnell drove back the English across the stream, but he was not seconded, and the other Irish chiefs, mounted their horses, and fled like cowards, leaving the infantry to their fate. The rear-guard was driven in upon the main body, and vanguard and

[52] *Pacata Hibernia*, pp. 50-6.

rear and main body were soon mixed up together. The Spaniards and Tyrell made a stand, but they were overwhelmed, the larger portion killed, and some, including Ocampo, were taken prisoners. For two miles the pursuit was continued. Clanricarde was especially active, and called out that no Irish were to be spared; the wounded were put to death, and the few prisoners taken were brought into the camp and hanged. The loss on the Irish side is put as high as 2,000 killed and wounded, and as low as 200; but on the English side the loss was small. It was a humiliating day for Ireland, the victory, say the *Four Masters*, of the few over the many. The defeat is hard to explain. O'Sullivan attributes it to the sins of the Irish, the *Four Masters* to the anger of God; the mishap of losing their way, and the consequent depression and weariness in the ranks will, only partially account for it; and it is not unlikely that there were other traitors among the chiefs besides MacMahon. Victory would mean their being permanently subject to O'Neill, and like so many other Irish chiefs they perhaps preferred being subject to England. At all events their precipitate and cowardly flight demoralized their followers, and spread a panic through the whole army. Daguilla remained inactive during the battle, and made no sally from the town as he had promised; but, when the battle was over, he sallied to no purpose, and soon after he made terms with the English, and returned to Spain.[53]

[53] *Four Masters*; Moryson, pp. 176-9; *Carew Papers*, pp. 191-4; *Pacata Hibernia*, chap. 21; O'Sullivan, pp. 144-7.

CHAPTER XI.

The Last Stand.

AFTER the disaster of Kinsale the Irish chiefs met in council at Innishannon, eight miles from the battlefield. Some proposed that the siege should be resumed; but the majority decided that each chief should return to his own territory and defend it against the English, and that O'Donnell should ask further help from Spain. The latter meanwhile hastened to Castlehaven, embarked in a Spanish ship lying at anchor there, and soon arrived at Corunna, whence he made his way to the King at Zamora. He described to Philip the condition of affairs in Ireland, and was told to return to Corunna and await the further aid, which would be sent at once.[1] Letters were meanwhile sent by the Spanish King to Daguilla, directing him to defend the position he held until the promised succour arrived; but these letters were intercepted by the English, and not delivered; and, growing impatient of delay, Daguilla opened negotiations with the besiegers. He had provisions sufficient for three months; his supply of arms and ammunition was ample; the defences of the town were little damaged; and his soldiers, the Spanish infantry of that day, were the first soldiers in the world. Nor was it likely that the English would endeavour to carry the place by storm. The hardships of the siege had so thinned their ranks, that, in proportion to the besieged, they were at most not more than three to one; and to carry the

[1] *Pacata Hibernia*, p. 64; O'Clery, pp. 321-3.

town by storm, would involve an appalling loss of life, and, perhaps, the attempt might fail. A capable commander would have appreciated his own strength, and the difficulties of the enemy, knowing that so great an army as he had would not be left to perish by so great a power as Spain. But there was nothing heroic in the character of Daguilla; he had no taste for the hardships of a siege; and though he had done nothing to aid the Irish, and had been in fact the main cause of their defeat, he poured upon them the coarsest abuse, pretending to think that they were even ready to betray him; and one of his officers asked in derision if Christ ever died for such a people.[2] The negotiations were opened on the last day of the year by a messenger sent from Daguilla to Mountjoy, and two days later the Articles were signed. It was agreed that Kinsale, and all the strong places garrisoned by Spanish troops, should be surrendered to the English, the Spaniards being allowed to bring everything they possessed with them; that the Deputy should transport them to Spain, or allow them go at their own charge if they wished; that both in Ireland or at sea they were to be treated as friends, and furnished with victuals; and that, until they returned to Spain, they were not under any circumstances to bear arms against England.[3] Daguilla was to remain in Ireland until all the Spaniards were transhipped to Spain. During the interval he spent his time at Cork; dined with Mountjoy and Carew, and exchanged confidences with them, and expressed, like them, the utmost contempt for the Irish. He spoke of their falseness and treachery, and promised his English friends that, when he got to Spain, he would dissuade the King from sending further assistance. But the readiness with which he adopted the opinions of his late enemies, and his zeal for their interests, did not prevent them from treacherously seizing his letters, and then telling him, when they had read their contents, that they had got them from a priest whom they had hired as a spy, and who stayed with the Earl of Tyrone.[4]

[2] *Pacata Hibernia*, pp. 71-7; O'Connor's *Military History*, p. 22.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 78-81.
[4] *Pacata Hibernia*, pp. 100-13. This plot was carried out by Carew. The war was then over, and Daguilla was his guest, and to play such tricks was unworthy a man of honour, but not unworthy of Carew.

Daguilla returned to Spain. The Irish refugees had already told the tale of his incapacity; he was coldly received, then thrown into prison, and soon after died. By the Irish his memory was execrated, and not without some justice; for of all the Spanish expeditions ever sent to Ireland, his was the greatest, and brought on the greatest disaster, and of all the commanders ever sent he was the least competent to command.[5]

The surrender of the strong castles of Cork was of great importance to the English, and no doubt the prospect of getting peaceable possession of them quickened their eagerness to come to terms with the Spaniards. These places were of great strength, and if it became necessary to besiege them, time would be spent, and many lives lost, and in the meantime, perhaps, another Spanish army might be landed. But the O'Sullivans, and O'Driscolls, and MacCarthys, to whom those castles belonged, had surrendered them to the Spaniards because they were fighting the battle of Ireland; they did not wish that they should fall into the hands of the English; and O'Driscoll refused to give up Castlehaven, and even fought with the Spaniards there; nor was it given up until a skirmish was fought in which two of the latter were killed. Ultimately, however, the English got possession of it, as they did of Baltimore, and of a castle in the Island of Cape Clear.[6] But there was more difficulty about the castle of Dunboy. It belonged to Donal O'Sullivan, and was garrisoned by 100 Spaniards, who were provided with large stores of ammunition and ten large pieces of artillery; and its position, on the edge of the sea, and situated among mountains was such, that it was difficult to approach it either from the land or the sea side. While it was yet held by the Spaniards, an English ship with 200 soldiers on board was sent from Baltimore to take possession of it; but the winds were unfavourable, and the ship, though it made Berehaven, was unable to land. But in the meantime O'Sullivan came to the castle with a large force; in the night when the Spaniards were asleep a hole was made in the wall, through which the Irish entered, and when morning dawned they were masters of the castle, and it was useless for the Spaniards to resist.

[5] *Pacata Hibernia*, p. 251.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 116.

O'Sullivan disarmed them and sent them to Baltimore, and keeping all the guns and ammunition, he placed in the castle a garrison of 143 men, under one Richard Mageoghegan; a certain Thomas Taylor, an Englishman, and son-in-law to Captain Tyrell, being second in command. The defences of the castle were strengthened; O'Sullivan himself with nearly 1,000 men occupied the peninsula of Beare, having with him Captain Tyrell, and the Baron of Lixnawe.[7] And O'Sullivan sent letters to the King of Spain protesting against the conduct of Daguilla, and asking for assistance to hold Dunboy.[8]

By the end of March, the Spaniards had left for Spain, all but a few, who voluntarily remained at Dunboy, and shared the fate of the besieged. Mountjoy returned to Dublin, and Carew was preparing to attack O'Sullivan, when he fell dangerously ill at Cork.[9] In the meantime, the Earl of Thomond, with 1,250 men, was despatched to Bantry, and ordered to harass those who were unfriendly to the English; to set up rival chiefs to those who were in rebellion; and, if possible, to penetrate to Beare and view the Castle of Dunboy. Part of these instructions he was able to carry out; but he was unable to reach Dunboy, for the only available pass was held in strength by Tyrell; and Thomond, leaving a garrison in Whiddy Island, returned with the remainder of his army to Cork.[10] He told Carew that, from reliable information, he believed Dunboy to be a place of extraordinary strength; and some of Carew's friends, thinking it impregnable, tried to dissuade him from the attempt to capture it. But he was not to be dissuaded, and with 3,000 men he marched from Cork, and arrived at Bantry in the last days of April. The victuals and ordnance were sent by sea, and in addition, Wilmot, who had been laying Kerry waste, and had just captured the castles of Carrigfoyle and Lixnawe, and defeated the Knight of Kerry, was ordered to join the President, and did so in the middle of May.[11] The difficulty of reaching Dunboy by land was so great, that Carew went by sea instead,

[7] *Pacata Hibernia*, pp. 41, 119-20.
[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 120-8.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 140.
[10] *Pacata Hibernia*, pp. 149-54.
[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 161-8, 171.

and on the 1st of June his forces reached Berehaven, and landed in Bear Island. A few days later, they crossed to the mainland, but their landing was disputed by Tyrell, and in the skirmish which was fought Tyrell was wounded.[12] By the 7th of June, the whole army occupied the mainland, and on every side the castle was surrounded. From three different points Carew's heavy guns commanded it, from a portion of the mainland jutting out into the sea, and opposite the Castle; from another small neck of land the guns were pointed southward; while from the mainland and from the west many more heavy guns played. The sea was guarded by ships; Carew's army was at least 3,000; he had abundance of victuals and military stores; and against such strength a garrison of but 143 men was ill-matched. Yet they stubbornly held their ground, and inflicted some loss on the besiegers. But the contest could not last indefinitely. Carew's trenches gradually and stealthily approached the Castle; the barbican was a heap of ruins; and on the 17th a turret on the south-west, on which artillery was placed, fell with a crash, and the same fate overtook the western portion of the Castle itself. Many of the garrison were buried beneath the ruins; and as further resistance was seen to be hopeless, a messenger was sent to Carew offering to surrender if their lives were spared. His answer was to have the messenger hanged, and on the same day his soldiers entered the breach. They were met with desperate courage. Every inch of the ground was contested; every point that could give shelter or furnish a vantage for attack was availed of; and from those upper portions of the Castle which were still standing, the garrison threw stones or iron balls on the assailants, and a piece of cannon mowed them down with hail-shot. But the cannoneer was shot dead at his gun; the English pressed in over the dead bodies of their comrades; the upper portion of the Castle still remaining was reached by means of the ruined portions; and the Irish, driven for shelter to the cellars, continued to shoot upwards at their foes. Forty of them made a dash for the sea, but every man of them was killed. By this time the sun had gone down, for the fighting had lasted all day. Mageoghegan was mortally

[12] *Pacata Hibernia*, pp. 181-2.

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wounded, and lay bleeding to death; and the survivors, to the number of 77, were in the cellars, having taken with them some barrels of powder. A strong guard was placed over them, and the main body of the English withdrew to the camp, further operations being postponed to the following day. In the meantime Taylor assumed command, and being refused a promise of life, vowed he would set the powder barrels ablaze, and blow up the Castle and himself, and the English guard. But his comrades would not allow him to carry out his desperate resolution, and all surrendered. When Mageoghegan saw them on the point of surrendering, he grasped a lighted candle, intending to do what Taylor had threatened to do, and had not done. But an English officer saw him, and divined his purpose, and before he could reach the powder he was put to death. Of the garrison not a man was spared. A soldier who appreciated heroism might have thought they deserved a better fate; but Carew was not one of these, and by his order every man was hanged. Four days later, the Castle of Dunboy was blown up, and the outworks and fortifications were destroyed.[13]

On his return to Cork, in July, Carew found 1,000 fresh troops from England; and though he was not satisfied with the dispositions of the MacCarthys of Carbry, and was much weakened with the operations at Dunboy, he was enabled to give a strong force to Sir Charles Wilmot, whom he directed to lay Kerry waste, and to compel the people dwelling there to pass over to Limerick. He would thus prevent O'Sullivan and Tyrell obtaining means to continue the rebellion, and if a fresh Spanish expedition came they could get no assistance in Kerry. He also established strong garrisons at Kinsale and Bantry and Baltimore, and by his instructions the whole of South Cork was laid waste; so that from Bantry to Kinsale there was no corn or cattle left in the fields, nor houses left unburned; and Percy and Harvey, and the Irish Catholic Lord Barry, were highly commended for the thoroughness with which the work was done.[14] Satisfied that Cormac MacCarthy was meditating rebellion, Carew threw him into prison, and took possession of his

[13] *Pacata Hibernia*, pp. 198-207.
[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 212-13, 270-1

castles of Blarney and Macroom, and he also imprisoned MacCarthy's wife and children.[15] Cormac, however, managed to escape, and entered into communication with Tyrell; but he had not the courage to join those in rebellion; all he cared for was for his lands, and when these were guaranteed he submitted in the most humble manner to Carew.[16] The insurgent forces still left in Munster thought it better to divide themselves into three divisions, O'Sullivan remaining in Beare with 700 men, the MacCarthys of Carbry keeping 400 men, and Tyrell going to north Kerry with 500 men.[17] But they were unable to do much, or even to remain long in Munster. The MacCarthys were defeated in December, and were glad to submit and obtain pardon; Tyrell fled into O'Carroll's country; lastly, O'Sullivan was defeated on the last day of the year by one of Wilmot's lieutenants, though only after a desperate contest, which lasted the whole day, and in which the English lost heavily.[18]

Alone and unaided, O'Sullivan knew he could not maintain himself in Munster; he had abandoned all hope of obtaining aid from Spain; and he formed the desperate resolution of fighting his way to Ulster. Delay was dangerous, and even fatal, and he had to leave behind him his sick and wounded. On the 4th of January Wilmot came upon the deserted camp in the valley of Glengarriff, and every man of the sick and wounded was put to death by his soldiers; and the same fate befel the inhabitants of Dursey Island. It is not said that they were in arms, or offered any resistance; some of them were women and children; but all were friends of O'Sullivan, and this was the extent of their crime.[19] With that chief himself were 400 soldiers and 600 women and children. His march northward was a continual battle. Passing through Muskerry he was attacked by the MacCarthys, and at Liscarroll by a brother of Lord Barry, and in each contest he suffered loss. Through Limerick he passed into Tipperary, where he was attacked by the sheriff of the county; but he drove him off with some loss,

[15] *Pacata Hibernia*, pp. 229-33.
[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 259-65.
[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 280-1
[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 287-8.
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 286.

and arrived at the banks of the Shannon, just where it enters Lough Derg. Not having boats with which to cross, he killed some of his horses; and a boatmaker in the ranks made some currachs, which he covered over with the skins thus obtained. At Aughrim he was attacked by the Burkes and the O'Kellys of Hy Many. O'Sullivan's fighting force was then but 300 men; but they had the courage of despair, and were skilfully led, and their enemies, who were much more numerous, were scattered with heavy loss. By Ballinlough, in Roscommon, they continued their march, still threatened by many enemies, and journeying along unfrequented ways. It was the depth of winter; the snow fell heavily; the winds blew a bitter blast; the provisions were scanty and with difficulty obtained; and having no tents to shelter them they had to sleep in the open air. The women and children, and the infirm, either died on the journey or dropped out of the ranks, and in some cases were cared for by friendly natives on the way; the numbers were reduced almost to vanishing point; and of the thousand who left Glengarriff, but a fortnight before, only 35—18 armed men, 16 servants, and one woman—entered O'Rorke's castle at Leitrim.[20]

After his interview with the King of Spain, Hugh O'Donnell remained at Corunna, awaiting the promised aid. But the aid did not come, and O'Donnell wrote to the King, in April, asking for even 2,000 men to land in Ulster, for he was confident that with these he and O'Neill would be able to make head against the enemy until a larger force could be sent; but if this were not done the whole country would be lost.[21] His request was not granted, and even his letter remained unanswered. The surrender of Daguilla and the capture of Dunboy had disconcerted the King's plans, and he was no longer willing to give the aid he had promised. O'Donnell was in the greatest affliction. He remembered that it was his own rashness which was largely responsible for the disaster of Kinsale; he was anxious to repair his error; and he thought with bitterness of his own Tyrconnell, wasted and plundered by hated foreigners. At length, through the influence of his devoted friend, the Earl of

[20] *Four Masters: Pacata Hibernia*, p. 284; O'Sullivan, pp. 161-73.
[21] O'Clery, *Introduction*, p. 146.

Caracena, he obtained the favour of another interview with King Philip, and on the 9th of August he set out for the court at Valladolid. But he got no further than the Castle of Simancas, where he took ill and died. For a long time it was thought that he died of fever or of some lingering desease, but the *State Papers* now published tell a different tale. A certain James Blake of Galway, probably a merchant trading with Spain, came to Carew at Cork, in the month of May, told him he was going to Spain, and offered to poison O'Donnell. Carew had employed assassins already, and was ready to employ more, if only his enemies might be destroyed. He was much pleased with Blake's design, bade him to proceed to Spain, and hoped that "God would give him strength and perseverance"—to commit murder! How Blake insinuated himself into favour with O'Donnell does not appear; but the deed was done; and when Carew heard of the Ulster chief's death he had no doubt that he was poisoned by Blake.[22] O'Donnell died on the 10th of September, attended in his last moments by his friend, Florence Conroy, afterwards Archbishop of Tuam. His body was taken to Valladolid, and buried in the Franciscan church there, and nothing was wanting on the King's part to do honour to his remains.[23] His death was an overwhelming blow to the Catholic cause in Ireland. It dispirited everybody, broke up the confederacy in Munster, and cut off all hope of Spanish aid.

In the absence of the Ulster chiefs in Munster, Dowcra and Nial Garve had a free hand in the north-west. The forces placed at the disposal of Rory O'Donnell were necessarily small; he could only remain on the defensive; and he was compelled to raise the siege of Donegal, and allow the garrison to be victualled from Derry. Nor could he prevent Nial Garve from capturing Ballyshannon, in the spring of 1602, nor from destroying Enniskillen, and the monasteries of Lisgoole and Devenish in Lough Erne. Nothing but the most loyal co-operation among the chiefs of Tyrconnell and North Connaught could enable him to make headway against his enemies; and Hugh O'Donnell pleaded for such loyal

[22] *Carew Papers*, pp. 350-1. (Letter from Carew to Mountjoy) Atkinson's *Calendar* (1599-1600), pp. 472-3.

[23] O'Clery, pp. 325-7.

co-operation before he left for Spain. But the appeal was soon forgotten. One of the MacSweeney chiefs who had hitherto acted with O'Donnell went over to the English; and O'Rorke's willingness to help was not always shown. The English under Sir Oliver Lambert were marching from Athlone to attack Sligo, and Rory O'Donnell proposed to intercept him at a certain pass, where, perhaps, his force might be destroyed. But O'Rorke refused, and the result was that Sligo was soon in English hands, and that both from Sligo and Ballyshannon O'Donnell was assailed. A third English force was assembled at Boyle. These O'Donnell attacked, then fell back to the Curlews; and when the English tried to force a passage through the mountains he fell upon them and defeated them with loss; nor did they deem themselves safe until they reached Roscommon. A little later, he defeated another English force at Ballysodare. He saw, however, that the contest was becoming a hopeless one, nor could it be much longer prolonged, and when news reached him that his brother was dead in Spain, he abandoned hope. The news was sent him by Mountjoy, who pointed out to him the futility of further resistance, and promised him pardon and even favours if he submitted. A little before this, Rory had released O'Connor Sligo from his prison in Lough Esk; and taking this chief with him he went to Athlone, and submitted to the English, and thus ended the war in Tyrconnell.[24]

But at this period it was not O'Donnell the English were most anxious to crush, nor was it against him their greatest strength was turned, but against O'Neill. Him they considered the greatest among their foes; if he were destroyed the war would be over, the war which had lasted so long, and cost them so much; and from many directions, and with powerful forces, he was assailed. Dowcra, from his headquarters at Lifford, was to turn eastward to the Blackwater; Sir Arthur Chichester was to cross from Carrickfergus and meet the Deputy, who was to march north, and form a junction with his allies from the east and west. These plans would have been carried out in the spring; but Mountjoy, on his return from Munster, fell ill at Kilkenny, in March, and when he was able to reach

[24] *Four Masters.*

Dublin, the illness returned and became more serious, nor was it until the following June that he could take the field.[25] Passing without opposition to Newry and Armagh, he reached the Blackwater, which he crossed; and to guard the passage he built a fort there, which he named Charlemont. Nor did he meet an enemy until he reached Dungannon, nor even there; for O'Neill burned his castle to the ground, and took up a position at Castleroe, on the river Bann.[26] Dowcra was then at Omagh. He had just got a force of 800 fresh troops from England, and, thus strengthened, he marched by the banks of the Mourne, reached Omagh in safety, and garrisoned it, and met the Deputy near Dungannon. Chichester, on his side, crossed Lough Neagh, and on the Tyrone side of the Lake he erected a strong fort, which he called Mountjoy, and placed there a garrison of 1,900 men. The united strength of these three forces were then ready to fall upon O'Neill and his allies. At that date these allies were few, and were daily becoming fewer. Turlogh O'Neill, of the Fews and O'Hanlon had submitted in the preceding year; there was a Queen's Maguire in Fermanagh, and a Queen's O'Reilly in Cavan;[27] and now O'Cahan, thinking that all was lost, deserted his chief (August, 1602), and gave up his country to Dowcra. Part of it he got back to hold from the Queen, but all of it bordering on Lough Foyle was given over to the English, and occupied by them; and to show his zeal for his new friends he offered to serve them with 150 foot and 30 horse. The MacDonnell chief, Randal MacSorley, soon followed in the footsteps of O'Cahan.[28]

Deserted by his allies, his strength every day becoming less, if O'Neill gave battle in the open there could be no doubt of the result, and the war would soon be over. But Mountjoy had no hope that this would happen. He knew O'Neill to be a man of much resource, knowing the country well, and the advantages it offered. He would retire before his enemies when their strength was great; he would fall upon them when they were weak; amid all the traitor chiefs who deserted him, his own people of Tyrone were faithful; and

[25] Moryson, pp. 207-10.
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 218.
[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 214, 224.
[28] Moryson, p. 236; *Carew Papers*, p. 314.

Mountjoy concluded, that besides drawing his allies from him, and planting garrisons in his territory, the most effective way to subdue him was by famine.[29] And with this object in view he proceeded to lay the country waste. From Enniskillen and from Monaghan, from Armagh and Dungannon, from Charlemont and Mountjoy, and from all the other towns and forts where garrisons were placed, he sent out parties to spoil and plunder. He took special care to leave nothing in Tyrone itself. He would allow no people to dwell there, and no corn to be reaped there, because it was the fountain of the rebellion; there at least he was resolved that there should be a repetition of the horrors of Munster under Grey and Carew.[30]

It was autumn, when the corn waved in the fields, but that which the peasant had sown he was not destined to reap. All that the English wanted for themselves or their horses they cut down and saved; the remainder they destroyed; the cattle also they drove off; and the people, left without corn or cattle, perished by thousands. This was exactly what Mountjoy wished. He did not consider that these people had even the right to live. He regarded them as the farmer does the weeds which grow in his field, or the birds which pick up the corn he has sown. To shoot them down, women and children, and helpless old men, would be to waste powder and shot. It was better and easier to let them starve; and in that fatal autumn and winter scenes were witnessed in Ulster which might have extorted pity even from demons. As the English marched through O'Cahan's country, not a trace of man could be seen except some dead bodies by the wayside, of those starved for want of food. From Toome to Tullahoge 1,000 corpses lay unburied, and throughout Tyrone at least 3,000 were dead from hunger.[31] In their struggle for life, these famine-stricken people had consumed everything which fell in their way. Hawks, kites, and birds of prey, cats and dogs, they eagerly devoured; horseflesh, when obtained, they regarded as a luxury; they pulled up nettles and docks, and everything which grew above ground, which could even temporarily

[29] Moryson, p. 211.
[30] *Carew Papers*, p. 301.
[31] Moryson, pp. 226, 238.

satisfy the pangs of hunger; and in the fields and ditches their corpses were found, the mouths coloured green from the unwholesome diet they had eaten. The dogs, starving themselves, devoured the decomposing corpses; and the wolves, issuing from the woods and mountains, fell upon the feeble among the living, and tore them to pieces.[32] Nor were these the worst spectacles that were seen. The soldiers of Chichester and Moryson in their campaign in Down found three children, the eldest but ten years old, feeding on the entrails of their dead mother, on whose body they had fed for twenty days. The flesh they had cut off and cooked over a slow fire; the entrails they were eating raw. And some old women near Newry hid in the woods, and built a fire; and some little girls coming to warm themselves were surprised by the old women, and killed and eaten. Nor did these instances stand alone, for Moryson declares that there were others.[33]

O'Neill's position became desperate. His territory was studded over with English garrisons; his plate and money, and his artillery, were taken; his home was destroyed; the old stone chair on which for ages the O'Neills were inaugurated at Tullahoge was smashed in pieces by Mountjoy;[34] the country was wasted, without cattle, or crops, or houses, and, worst of all, without men. Yet with indomitable resolution he still persevered. He had still 600 foot and 60 horse under his command. From the banks of the Bann he made his way to Fermanagh, where he was joined by Brian MacArt, and by his own brother Cormac;[35] and from the shores of Lough Erne he went back to Glenconkeine, a wooded valley north-west of Lough Neagh; and, such was the strength of the position, that with his little army he was still able to maintain himself against an army ten times as numerous as his own. Nor could the Deputy get possession of his person, either alive or dead, though he put a price on his head, and hired assassins to murder him. O'Neill's followers were faithful to him; not one of them would betray him; and Mountjoy, baffled and defeated, declared

[32] *Four Masters* at 1603 (note). O'Sullivan, p. 181.
[33] Moryson, p. 271.
[34] Moryson, p. 236; *Carew Papers*, p. 314.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 237.

with mortification that never did a traitor know better how to keep his own head, and never had subjects a more dreadful awe to lay violent hands on their sacred prince than these people had to touch the person of their O'Neill.[36] In what striking and agreeable contrast does the fidelity of the people stand to the perfidy and treachery of their chiefs!

But the contest could not last for ever. Only O'Rorke was still in arms; Rory O'Donnell had submitted; Red Hugh was dead, and with him died all hope of Spanish aid; and at last O'Neill sent a messenger to Mountjoy that he also was ready to lay down his arms. Mountjoy was anxious to make terms with him, and so also was Cecil; for the expenses of the war were enormous, and already base coin was in circulation, which led to widespread discontent. But the old Queen, cross-tempered, unforgiving, and vindictive, would not yield. She was ready to forgive everyone but that viper Tyrone; she approved of all Mountjoy's severities against him and his people; and she would not allow mercy to be extended to the rebel, who had so often foiled her in diplomacy and war.[37] A further humble letter from O'Neill to Mountjoy, and further pressure brought to bear on Elizabeth by Cecil, caused her to alter her decision; and in February, 1603, she authorised Mountjoy to make terms with O'Neill, with promise of life and liberty, and pardon for all his offences. The negotiations were carried on through Sir Garret Moore of Mellifont, an intimate friend both of O'Neill and the Deputy; and on the 25th of March, Moore and Sir William Godolphin rode from Mellifont, and met O'Neill at Tullahoge.[38] The Queen died on the 24th of March. Mountjoy was informed of the fact, but he dissembled his knowledge, and urged Godolphin to hasten O'Neill's coming, else the Queen might be displeased. This had the desired effect, and on the 30th of March the great chief, who had so long defied English power, knelt humbly at the feet of the Deputy at Mellifont; renounced for ever the name of The O'Neill; abjured all dependence on foreign power, or any authority over the chiefs of Ulster; and, sinking to the position of a

[36] Moryson, p. 268.
[37] *Ibid.*, pp. 248-9.
[38] *Ibid.*, pp. 275-80.

subject of England, bound himself to obey its laws. In return, he and his followers were pardoned of all their offences; his title of Earl was restored to him, and all his lands, except the lands held by Turlough MacHenry of the Fews, and in addition 300 acres round the fort of Mountjoy, and 300 acres round the fort of Charlemont; and for all his lands he was to pay a crown rent. On the 3rd of April, he arrived at Dublin, and two days later he heard of the Queen's death for the first time, and on hearing it burst into tears. He had lost the merit of voluntarily submitting to the new King; he was in the hands of his enemies, who had evidently entrapped him; the promises made to him were made on behalf of a dead Queen, and a dead Queen had no power to carry them out. Yet Mountjoy did not think it honourable to break his word, or even advantageous to the public service; and O'Neill renewed his submission to King James, and was sent back to his own people of Tyrone. O'Rorke, the last in arms, also abandoned the struggle; James I. gladly welcomed these submissions; the rebellion was over; and Ireland, so long wasted by war, was to taste the blessings of peace.[39]

[39] Moryson, pp. 280-1.

CHAPTER XII.

The Flight of the Earls.

THE reign of Elizabeth has always been considered by Englishmen as one of the most glorious in their annals. It was the age of Shakespeare and Spenser and Bacon, of Frobisher and Drake and Raleigh, the age in which Spain was humbled and the invincible Armada was destroyed. But in Ireland the age of Elizabeth, as well as the personal merits of the sovereign herself, were regarded with different feelings. Under other monarchs the people were already familiar with oppression and injustice, with corrupt officials and brutal soldiers, with the robbery of churches and church lands. In an aggravated form they experienced all these under the last of the Tudors. In no previous reigns were there scenes to parallel the atrocities of Pelham and Gray, and Carew and Mountjoy; and all these savageries were known to and approved of by the Queen. There were then no Protestants in Ireland, except the government officials and the soldiers; the people were still Catholics. Yet their religion was harassed and proscribed, the church lands confiscated, the churches converted to Protestant uses, or allowed to fall into ruin, the priests hunted down like wolves. The ministers of the new faith, without piety, or zeal, or religious conviction, were but grasping officials, who received the church revenues, and enjoyed the church lands, but neglected the churches. They lived the lives of laymen, and not of ecclesiastics, intent on acquiring wealth and gratifying their pleasures, and delegated their spiritual duties to horseboys and stablemen, who mumbled

through some mockery of the Protestant ritual, and received in return a horseboy's or a stableman's pay.[1] The zealous Protestantism of Spenser revolted at such religious ministers, among whom there was gross simony, greedy covetousness, fleshly incontinency, careless sloth, and disordered lives; and whatever abuses abounded in the Church of England in Ireland abounded still more.[2] And he contrasted them with the "Popish priests," who came from Spain and Rome and Rheims, braving the perils of land and sea, looking for no earthly reward, knowing that death itself awaited them, but feeling that they had a work to do, and that in coming to Ireland and labouring for their people, they were obeying their Master's call.[3]

It was, then, with joy rather than sorrow that the Irish heard of the death of Elizabeth. In the towns and cities of Munster they were especially jubilant. The people of these towns were Catholics, and, being for the most part of English descent, were loyal to the English connexion, and, during the long war with the Ulster chiefs, they had remained neutral. To make them enemies while the war lasted Carew deemed unwise, and therefore the secret exercise of their religion was tolerated. With the Queen's death they believed that what they had so long done secretly they might now do openly. King James traced his descent from an Irish source; he had intrigued with Hugh O'Neill during his rebellion; his wife was a Catholic, though not an over zealous one; his mother was a fervent Catholic, and it was thought had died a martyr for her faith; James himself had never been a persecutor, and it might be that he would now favour the creed of his wife and mother, perhaps publicly profess it.[4] Such appeared to be the expectations of the southern towns. At Wexford, Clonmel and Limerick, the Catholic churches which had been seized by the Protestants were now taken from them, and Mass said within them. At Kilkenny, the people,

[1] Russel and Prendergast's *Calendars of State Papers*, Vol. I., p. 143.
[2] Spenser's *View*, pp. 139-40.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 254.
[4] Hill Burton's *History of Scotland*, Vol. VI., pp. 162-6; Andrew Lang's *History of Scotland*, Vol. II., pp. 440, 467-8; Atkinson's *Calendar* 1598-9), pp. 7, 33, 142; Gardiner's *History of England*, Vol. I., pp. 80, 142.

with a Dominican friar at their head, seized the Black Friars' Abbey, which had been converted into a sessions house, and restored it to the Dominicans. At Cork, the Protestant Cathedral was seized, the texts of Scripture on the wall defaced, and Mass publicly sung there; images were set up, the cross carried through the streets, "yea, they buried their dead with Papistical ceremonies." The citizens of Waterford took possession of St. Patrick's church, and Dr. White, a Jesuit, preached there and thanked God that every man might now enjoy the fruits of his own industry, "and sit under his own shop, where before all things were extorted from them by the rapine of the soldiers, so that none could say this was his own, for now Jezabel was dead." [5]

Mountjoy warned these cities of the dangers they ran; assured them that James was a staunch Protestant; and that the public exercise of the Catholic religion would not be allowed. Kilkenny, Wexford, Clonmel, and Limerick hearkened to his remonstrances, and restored the churches taken from the Protestants; but Waterford and Cork were obstinate; and, at the head of an army of 5,000 men, the Deputy left Dublin, and appeared before the walls of the former city. The citizens refused to admit his army, alleging the privileges of an ld charter of King John; but Mountjoy peremptorily told them hat he would cut in pieces the charter of King John with the sword of King James; and that if they persisted in their rebellion, he would destroy their city and strew salt upon its ruins. Fond of theological disputation, he expressed a wish to see Dr. White, who came to his camp; and Moryson records with glee how this learned Deputy discussed theology before the whole army and representatives from the city, and how he detected White misquoting St. Augustine, at which exposure the citizens grew ashamed of their champion. [6] In the end Waterford submitted; the public exercise of the Catholic religion was prohibited, and the churches handed over to the Protestant ministers, and, this done, Mountjoy turned westward to Cork. He found that city in open revolt, the gates closed against

[5] *Carew Papers* (1603-24), pp. 7-12; Moryson, pp. 286-92.
[6] Russel's *Calendar*, pp. 32-5; Moryson, p. 293.

him, the military stores seized, the soldiers fired on. Again the firmness of Mountjoy conquered. The citizens acknowledged their errors; some few were punished; the Catholic religion was not to be publicly practised; the arms and military stores were handed back; the new King was publicly proclaimed in the city, and the citizens swore allegiance to his person and government. [7]

In Ulster, about the same time, there was trouble with Nial Garve O'Donnell. Dowcra despised him, but humoured him while the war lasted, for Nial was a capable leader, and had given valuable service.[8] Promised all Tyrconnell, he insisted on having also Tyrone and Fermanagh, and even Connaught, because the O'Donnells at one time held sway there; and he told Dowcra that over all this territory every foot of land was his, and the very persons of the people; and when the Deputy decided that he had no right to levy cess on O'Doherty he scouted the decision. His indignation increased when Rory O'Donnell was taken into favour. And when the Deputy ordered him to leave Rory's possessions and cattle unmolested he disregarded the command, seized upon Rory's cattle and refused to restore them. He also refused to go to Dublin and explain himself; forbade his people to aid the English garrisons; declared he would have no English sheriff in his territory; threatened to destroy the town of Lifford; and finally had himself inaugurated The O'Donnell at Kilmacrenan with the customary ceremonies of his race. [9] After Tyrone's submission Mountjoy resolved to chastise Nial. Dowcra arrested him, and when he escaped recaptured him; and, after all his services to the English, his relative Rory was preferred before him, and made an earl, while Nial himself had to be content with an humbler position, and got for his share only a small strip of territory on the banks of the River Finn. [10]

On his return from Munster, Mountjoy was called to the English Privy Council; and while he was retained at the head of the Irish government, and with the higher title of Lord Lieutenant, he was

[7] Moryson, p. 295.
[8] *Four Masters.* Dowcra's *Narrative*, p. 256.
[9] *Four Masters*, at 1603. Dowcra's *Narrative*; Moryson, p. 292.
[10] *Four Masters.*

allowed to appoint a deputy, Sir George Carey, and given permission to reside in England permanently, if he wished.[11] James was anxious to see him, as he was to see the Earl of Tyrone. The latter nobleman's pardon was already made out; and in the last days of May, he and Rory O'Donnell, and the Lord Lieutenant, set sail for England.[12] As they passed from Holyhead to London, Tyrone was at various places assailed by the inhabitants, the women throwing dirt at him, enraged, no doubt, because of the number of their friends who had fallen in his wars.[13] But his reception at court was flattering. His dignity of Earl of Tyrone was confirmed to him; all Tyrone was recognised to be his, and over its whole extent he could exercise martial law; Portmore and the land surrounding it was given to him, but he gave up to the crown in exchange, 600 acres of land for the use of the garrisons of Charlemont and Mountjoy.[14] Rory O'Donnell was created Earl of Tyrconnell, but was to have no authority over O'Connor Sligo, or over O'Doherty of Inishowen; Ballyshannon and 1,000 acres of land surrounding it was specially reserved for the English garrison planted there; and the spiritual livings throughout Tyrconnell were to belong to the King.[15] With these marks of royal favour the two Earls returned to Ireland.

For a time all went well. After a long war there was universal peace. An Act of Oblivion and Indemnity was published by the King (1604), granting pardon to all those who had been in rebellion;[16] English law was extended to the whole country. A Commission of Grace was appointed to accept surrenders of lands held by Irish tenure, and these lands were henceforth to be held by English tenure under an arrangement similar to the Composition of Connaught; Irish exactions, such as bonaght and coshery, ceased; tanistry and gavelkind were declared illegal; judges went circuit even in Tyrconnell and Tyrone; and Sir John Davies declared that the people in Tyrconnell welcomed Judge Pelham as if he was an angel

[11] Moryson, p. 295.
[12] Meehan's *Fate and Fortunes of the Earls of Tyrconnell and Tyrone*, p. 25.
[13] Moryson, p. 296.
[14] Meehan, p. 40; Russel's *Calendar*, p. 85.
[15] Russel's *Calendar*, pp. 139-40.
[16] Russel's *Calendar*, p. 146.

from Heaven, so glad were they to have the protection of English law, and to be freed from the tyranny and caprice, and multiplied exactions, of their chiefs.[17] Base money which was in circulation was gradually withdrawn; new charters were given to the towns; the laws against the Catholics were not enforced; and in some cases Mass was said publicly, and churches and monasteries were rebuilt.[18]

To have the peace and contentment of the country made permanent it was only necessary that the laws should be fairly administered, that agreements made with the conquered chiefs should be kept, that officials should confine themselves to their official duties, and that, if the Catholic religion, which was the religion of the whole people, could not be publicly recognised, at least its toleration should continue. But this course of conduct was not adopted by the King or his advisers. James was baptised a Catholic, but the misfortunes of his mother soon left him without a mother's care, and those who ruled Scotland were careful to bring him up in hatred of Catholicism. He was trained in the gloomy tenets of Calvin, preached as they were in Scotland by Knox, with a vehemence, an acrimony and a forbidding harshness peculiar to Scotch Presbyterianism.[19] As the King grew older, and was able to judge for himself, he ceased to be satisfied with the morose and intolerant doctrines of his creed. The church organisation, republican in spirit, was little in harmony with his exalted notions of royal prerogative; he preferred a form of church government in which there were gradations of church dignities, and in which bishops would gather round the throne as its firmest defenders and advocate the divine right of kings.[20] He was personally averse to religious persecution. The Catholics were still strong in Scotland, and in spite of the angry and repeated remonstrances of the Presbyterians, he treated them with leniency and forbearance. He wished to stand well with foreign Catholic powers, and had even sent a private mission to the Pope.[21]

[17] Russel's *Calendar*, p. 111.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 244; Mant's *History of the Church of Ireland*, Vol. II., p. 349.
[19] Robertson's Works, Vol. II., p. 274; Lang's *History of Scotland*, Vol. II., pp. 25-9.
[20] Robertson, Vol. III p. 78.
[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 85, 94, 108-9; Gardiner, Vol I., Chapter 3

When he ascended the English throne he showed an anxiety to have religious uniformity between England and Scotland, and would, no doubt, have wished to have the same faith and the same form of church government in Ireland; yet there is little doubt that he might have tolerated the Irish Catholics, as he had tolerated those of his own country, if his hands were left free. But from the first his mind was sought to be poisoned against them. The revolt of the Munster towns was represented as an effort for predominance rather than for toleration; the Archbishop of Dublin and the Bishop of Meath personally appealed to him to put down the Catholics, especially priests from abroad, who taught that he was not a lawful king, not having the Pope's confirmation;[22] a friar at Navan who said James was a heretic had his words noted down and sent to London; the Deputy and Council asked that all priests should be expelled the kingdom, and almost every letter that went to London was in the same strain.[23] Cordially supported by Cecil, who hated the Catholics, these letters at last produced the desired effect, and when the King was sending Chichester to Ireland (1604), he told him to have the true religion established there. The Mayor of Dublin, who refused to take the Oath of Supremacy, was dismissed from office; and in the following July a proclamation was issued ordering all priests to quit Ireland before the end of the year.[24] When the Gunpowder Plot was seen to be the work of some misguided Catholics, Cecil and others were careful to point out that to be a Catholic was to be a rebel, anxious for the dethronement of the King; and in the English Parliament a series of penal laws were passed which were declared by historians to be worthy of a savage rather than of a Christian nation.[25] In Ireland a similar spirit of persecution was displayed. The clergy were ordered anew to quit the kingdom; the people commanded to attend the Protestant churches; and when some lords and gentlemen respectfully remonstrated against these decrees being enforced they were thrown into prison.[26]

[22] Russel's *Calendar*, pp. 59, 152.
[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 62, 68.
[24] Russel's *Calendar*, pp. 212-13.
[25] Lingard's *History of England*, Vol. VII., p. 48.
[26] Mant, p. 350; Russel's *Calendar*, pp. 347, 368.

During this time the position of the Earl of Tyrone was one of great difficulty. In being granted full rights over Tyrone, he understood he had the exclusive right to the fishing of the Bann and Lough Foyle, and the right to levy cess on O'Cahan and on the sons of Art O'Neill. Nor did he hesitate to use his rights. He took tribute from O'Neill; he fished the Bann and Foyle; he levied cess on O'Cahan; and he took two servants of Dowcra who had encroached on his territory and had them hanged. O'Cahan felt specially aggrieved. He had deserted Tyrone at a critical period of the war, and for this he was then freed from the jurisdiction of the Earl,[27] and was to be immediately subject to the English monarch, and to this agreement Dowcra, acting for the government, was a contracting party. He had also guaranteed to Art O'Neill's sons their castles and lands, and the fishing of Lough Foyle was given to himself. And now, to have this taken from him and two of his servants hanged was too much. He proceeded to Dublin to remonstrate with the Deputy, but effected nothing either for himself or others. Mountjoy told him that the peace of the kingdom depended on Tyrone; while fully recognising the great services of Dowcra, he told him he must resign the fishing of the Foyle and be compensated in some other way; and as to the hanging of his two servants he thought they deserved it, as they were caught robbing a priest. He would speak to Tyrone on behalf of Art O'Neill's sons, but he would not compel him to anything, and must leave their treatment to Tyrone's generosity how he would treat them. As for O'Cahan, he was but a drunken fool, incapable of good or ill; and when Dowcra reminded him of the promises made to him, he grew angry and swore that "O'Cahan must and shall be subject to Tyrone." On his return to Derry Dowcra was accompanied by the Earl of Tyrone's son Hugh, and there he met O'Cahan, who complained bitterly of the treatment he had received. He had been faithful to the Deputy and Dowcra, yet they now abandoned him; he would have done better had he clung to Tyrone. "In the end," says Dowcra in his quaint English, "seeing no remedy, he shaked hands with my Lord Hugh, bade the

[27] Meehan, pp. 22-3.

devil take all Englishmen and those who put their trust in them, and in the show of a good reconciled friendship they went away together." [28]

There were many others besides O'Cahan who were dissatisfied, English adventurers who came to Ireland in the hope of acquiring estates, and who perhaps had fought for years against the great rebel, expecting that when he was beaten down confiscation of his lands would ensue. They beheld with hungry eyes the fertile fields of Armagh and Tyrone, and in imagination they already possessed them. And it was vexatious to think that all their dreams had come to nought, that the castles and lands they were to possess were but castles in the air. One of these disappointed adventurers, Sir John Harrington, has expressed the embittered feelings with which he was stirred. "I have lived," he says, "to see that damnable rebel Tyrone brought to England, honoured and well liked. Oh, what is there that does not prove the inconstancy of worldly matters. How I did labour after that knave's destruction; I adventured perils by sea and land, was near starving, eat horse-flesh in Munster, and all to quell that man, who smileth in peace at those who did hazard their lives to destroy him." [29]

For a time, indeed, the wolves who clamoured for his destruction were baulked of their prey, but when Chichester became Deputy their turn came. In Ulster, he had taken part in the war against Tyrone and had been frequently worsted by him; the Earl held his abilities in contempt; and Chichester, vested with authority, resolved to be revenged. Nor was he scrupulous as to the means he used, or as to the character of the instruments he employed. An intolerant Protestant, he wanted the Catholics persecuted in Tyrone as elsewhere; and, in consequence, the Catholics throughout Tyrone and Tyrconnell were ordered to attend the Protestant churches on pain of forfeiture of goods and imprisonment, and government officials sometimes forced their way into Tyrone's house to see if he harboured ecclesiastics. [30] The Earl's steps were everywhere dogged by spies; what he did and said was carefully noted; a priest

[28] Dowcra's *Narrative*, pp. 274-80.
[29] Meehan, p. 39.
[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 52, 60, 63.

was examined to see if he was privy to the Gunpowder Plot; his wife was secretly examined as to what his intentions were.[31]

In the autumn of 1606, the Deputy and Sir John Davies, the Attorney-General, made a visitation of Ulster, and greedily sought every scrap of evidence, even every idle tale, that could blacken the character of the Earl of Tyrone, and those of his friends Maguire and O'Donnell. Ever ready for disreputable work, Nial Garve told them it was reported that these chiefs intended to seize the King's forts in Ulster; and Maguire was thrown into prison by the Deputy until he should swear something which would incriminate the Earl of Tyrconnell. This, to the Deputy's disappointment, Maguire refused to do.[32]

More than once Tyrone complained of his treatment. He wrote to Cecil (1604), that it was sought to deprive him of part of his lands; that he could get no redress from the Deputy; that many wrongs were done him; that the fishing of the Bann was sought to be taken from him.[33] And, as if this was not sufficient, he had to complain that the Bishop of Clogher and Derry, instead of being satisfied with rent out of his territory, now laid claim to the land itself.[34] This bishop's name was Montgomery. He was a Scotchman, and was appointed by James I. (1605) to the united dioceses of Clogher, Derry and Raphoe.[35] But he was in no hurry coming to Ireland, nor was it until two years had passed that he first set foot in Ulster. Yet, though he had little taste for the spiritual duties of his office, he showed great earnestness in the acquisition of wealth; and over the wide extent of territory subject to him he levied for every cow and calf and plough horse and colt fourpence; from every shoemaker, and carpenter, and smith and weaver a half crown every quarter; and eighteen pence a year from every married couple. And he energetically prosecuted a lawsuit to recover the church lands of Derry from a countryman and co-religionist, Sir George Paulett.[36]

[31] Meehan, pp. 66-7; Russel's *Calendar*, pp. 408-10.
[32] Russel's *Calendar*, p. 566; Meehan, p. 50.
[33] *Ibid.*, pp. 194, 264.
[34] *Ibid.*, pp. 286, 503, 549.
[35] Ware's *Bishops*.
[36] Meehan, pp. 77, 79.

In another direction also his energy and avarice were turned. The Earl of Tyrone complained that he had laid claim to church lands never claimed by any preceding bishop; but Montgomery sharply replied that O'Neill's Earldom was "swollen so big that it will burst if it be not vented." [37] Nor was this all. Tyrone and O'Cahan were again disputing, and the bishop, taking sides with the latter, advised him to turn away his wife, who was the Earl's daughter, and to petition the Council at Dublin to be freed altogether from him.[38] It was the old dispute, which was thought to have been finally settled by Mountjoy. Tyrone maintained that for centuries the O'Cahans were dependents on the O'Neills; that this was recognised by Henry VIII., when making Conn O'Neill an earl, and in his own case by Elizabeth, and again confirmed by the terms of his submission at Mellifont. The dispute was referred to the Council, before which both Tyrone and O'Cahan appeared. The partiality of the Deputy and Sir John Davies was apparent, and Davies exercised all his ingenuity to show that neither Conn O'Neill nor the present Earl had received any rights by letters patent over the free tenants who dwelt in Tyrone; that these were subject immediately to the King, and that the Earl had only "seignory and certain demesnes." And he wrote privately to Cecil that it would be well if O'Neill were humbled; that a territory 60 miles long and half as wide was too much for one man, and hindered the service of the commonwealth. [39] Yet the Irish Council were afraid to adopt these views. The terms of the letters patent were too plain; Mountjoy's decision was on record; and there was an agreement of the previous year between the Earl and O'Cahan, in which the latter specifically acknowledged his dependent position. A provisional arrangement was made that O'Cahan should have two thirds of what was called O'Cahan's country, the remainder going to O'Neill; and that the whole matter should be referred to the King. [40] In the meantime, Davies was careful to prejudice the mind of Cecil against the Earl of Tyrone, and Mont-

[37] Meehan, p. 79.
[38] Russel's *Calendar*, (1606-08), p. 144.
[39] Russel's *Calendar*, pp. 209-11.
[40] Russel's *Calendar*, p. 203.

gomery wrote to the same personage telling him that if O'Cahan was made subject to Tyrone, then Derry was in danger, and that, if that city was endangered, the English Protestants might say "*fuimus Troes, fuit Ilium.*"[41] The King wished to have both parties in London, so that their case might be gone into before himself, and Davies was to come over to advise. With such an advocate, already prejudiced, and with Cecil on the same side, there could be little doubt as to what the King's decision would be.[42]

These interminable disputes wearied the Earl of Tyrone. The truth was that, since making his submission, in 1603, his character as a loyal subject was above reproach. He kept his territory in the best of order; Chichester admitted that he put down a rebellion on the borders of Tyrone with a strong hand, and did not spare his own nephew, who was among the rebels; and Davies declared that there was no part of the country so quiet as Tyrone.[43] All O'Neill wanted was to be allowed to live in peace. He had fought a great fight; he had been worsted in the struggle; he had accepted his defeat, and was satisfied to live as a subject of England. But this was becoming impossible. Repeatedly his lands were invaded and seized on pretence of being church lands; and he had to complain to Cecil and to the King that nothing was secured to him; that the terms made with him were flagrantly violated.[44] His house was often broken into on pretence that he harboured disloyal persons; he was accused of unjustly executing persons by martial law, and when he asked to be confronted by his accusers they did not appear; Chichester insulted him at the Council table, and told him he hoped to live to see him a reformed man, and the animus of Davies could be seen by all the world.[45] And as if to drive him to despair, it was said that Chichester was to be appointed President of Ulster.[46] Hard as it was to wage war against the English, it was still harder to be a loyal subject of England. The Earl of Tyrconnell and Maguire were being similarly worried, until at last they determined to leave

[41] Russel's *Calendar*, pp. 217, 219.
[42] Meehan, p. 93.
[43] Russel's *Calendar*, (1603-06) pp. 178, 215.
[44] *Ibid.*, p. 359.
[45] Russel's *Calendar*, (1606-08) pp. 90, 377.
[46] Meehan, pp. 95, 116.

Ireland; and when Tyrone was informed by the latter chief that, if he went to London, he would be detained a prisoner there, he also, alarmed by this fresh piece of intelligence, resolved to follow the example of his friends.

In May, 1607, Maguire left Ulster secretly for Brussels. Through the influence of Father Conry and Tyrone's son, Hugh, then a colonel in the service of the Archdukes, he got a donation of 7,000 crowns, and with this he purchased a ship of 80 tons at Rouen, loaded it with a cargo of salt, manned it with 16 guns, and placed it in command of one Bath, a merchant of Drogheda. In the early part of September, the ship so manned, with Maguire on board, and with the French flag flying at the masthead, sailed up Lough Swilly, and cast anchor opposite the old Carmelite Priory at Rathmullen.[47] In the meantime an anonymous letter had been addressed to the Clerk of the Council at Dublin warning him that a plot was on foot to seize the Castle and murder the Deputy. The writer was discovered to be Sir Christopher St. Lawrence, Lord Howth, a man of restless disposition and of disreputable character. He joined Essex in his rebellion, and was prepared to murder Cecil if Essex had not prevented him; he served under Mountjoy in Ireland, then in the Low Countries, whence he came back to England; then he became a Protestant and tried to curry favour with Cecil; and finally he returned to Ireland, where he was prepared to act as a common informer.[48] Chichester had little faith in him and could with difficulty keep him to any definite statement. There was, he said, a general revolt of the Irish intended to shake off the yoke of England and adhere to the Spaniards; and in this conspiracy were involved Lord Delvin, Maguire, the Earl of Tyrconnell, Lord Mountgarrett, Sir Thomas Burke, and Sir Randal McDonnell, afterwards Earl of Antrim; but, as to Tyrone, he could charge him with nothing, though he suspected he was as deep in the plot as the others.[49] Though the English Council or the King were not alarmed at these

[47] Meehan, p. 114.
[48] *Ibid.*, p. 104; Russel's *Calendar*, (1606-08) pp. 151-3.
[49] *Ibid.*, pp. 105-12; Russel's *Calendar*, p. *227*; Gardiner's *England*, Vol. I., pp. 412-13.

disclosures—they seemed to be as sceptical as Chichester himself—they wished that St. Lawrence should come to England, and if he were there when Tyrone and O'Cahan came so much the better. But of all this Tyrone knew nothing, nor does it appear that it was known to his son in Brussels. Even without this his resolution was taken; and after accompanying the Deputy through part of his journey in Ulster he took leave of him, on the 8th of September, and then paid a visit to his old friend, Sir Garrett Moore, at Mellifont. He was noticed to be pensive and melancholy, and at his departure gave his blessing to every member of Moore's household. By Dundalk he crossed to Armagh, thence passed to Silver Bridge, where his wife met him, and finally, on the 13th of September, he reached Lough Swilly.[50]

The following morning, Maguire's ship turned her head to the open sea. Besides Tyrone and his wife and children, there were also on board Maguire and Tyrconnell and many of their relatives, in all between 30 and 40 persons. It "was a distinguished crew for one ship, and it is certain that the sea had not supported nor the winds wafted from Ireland in modern times a party of one ship more illustrious or noble."[51] Their intention was to reach Spain, but the sea was rough, the winds unpropitious; they were driven along the west coast of Ireland so far south that they discovered Croagh Patrick in the distance; they were driven eastwards until they neared Guernsey; nor was it until the 14th of October that they landed safely at Havre. The English ambassador demanded their surrender, which was refused by the French King, though the exiles were requested not to prolong their stay in France. Making their way to Brussels and thence to Louvain, they were everywhere received with the highest honours, and Tyrone was lodged in the royal palace where Charles V. spent his boyish days. The others also were treated with distinction, and compassionated as exiles driven from their native land by religious persecution.[52] James I. was in a difficulty, as he wished to stand well with France and Spain. And for the enlightenment of these Catholic

[50] Meehan, pp. 118-19; Gardiner, pp. 414-17.
[51] *Four Masters.*
[52] Meehan, pp. 121-7, 131.

nations he proclaimed that the Irish chiefs had fled the kingdom from inward terror and guilt; [53] that they had never been persecuted for their religion; that indeed it would be impossible to do so, seeing they had no religion at all, their condition being to think murder no fault, marriage of no use, and no man valiant that did not glory in rapine and oppression. [54] The best contradiction of these clumsy calumnies is contained in the despatches of the King's ministers, and can be found in the State Papers of the time.

By the flight of the Earls vast tracts of land were at the King's disposal, and great were the expectations of those greedy adventurers in Ireland who had coveted these lands so long. But the ample extent of such lands was soon increased by the rebellion of Sir Cahir O'Doherty and the treason of Nial Garve O'Donnell. At the death of O'Doherty's father, his uncle rather than himself had been appointed chief by O'Donnell, and so enraged were Cahir and his foster father MacDevitt that they went over to the English. And so pleased was Dowcra at the spirit shown by the young man in the final struggle against Tyrone that he procured him the honour of knighthood; and in the patent by which the new Earl of Tyrconnell got his lands, young O'Doherty, invested with all the lands of Inishowen, was specially exempt from his rule. As time passed, the good opinion entertained of him at Dublin increased; and his marriage with a daughter of Lord Gormanstown (1607) accentuated his loyalty to England. Indeed O'Doherty was so highly thought of that he was foreman of the jury which found a true bill against the fugitive Earls. [55] Yet only three months later he was in open rebellion. At some social gathering in Derry he in some way offended the Governor, Sir George Paulet; and Paulet, a coarse, choleric man, struck him in the face with his clenched fist. A young man of spirit would have instantly drawn his sword and revenged the insult; but O'Doherty, then but 21 years of age, had no such spirit. He brooded secretly over the matter and was advised by his friends, the Mac Devitts,

[53] Russel's *Calendar*, p. 331.
[54] *Four Masters*.
[55] Meehan, pp. 292-3; Russel's *Calendar*, pp. 389-90.

to wipe out the insult in blood, and that they would stand by him in his rebellion. [56] In the month of April, 1608, he invited the governor of Culmore, Captain Hart, with his wife and child to his own house at Buncrana, and then demanded the keys of the fort, threatening him with instant death if he refused. But Hart was a brave man, and refused, even though O'Doherty had drawn his sword, and Hart himself was unarmed. O'Doherty's wife implored her husband to desist; Hart's wife implored her husband to yield, and ultimately she accompanied O'Doherty to Culmore, where she told the guards that her husband was lying a short distance off with a broken leg. The stratagem was successful. The guards rushed out; O'Doherty and his friends rushed in and seized all the arms and military stores. [57] Thus armed, they instantly marched on Derry and captured it at break of day, among the killed being Paulet, the Governor, among the prisoners being Montgomery, the bishop, and his wife and child; the town itself was ransacked and burned. [58] O'Doherty's further operations were desultory and unimportant; the rebellion had at no time a prospect of being successful; and in the following July he was killed in an obscure skirmish at Kilmacrenan. [59]

In much of what he did there is little doubt that O'Doherty was directed by Nial Garve O'Donnell, who at the same time took care to give him no open assistance. He probably egged him on, knowing that his rebellion would end in ruin, that his lands would be confiscated, and hoping that he himself might become a sharer in the spoils. With this object in view Nial wrote to the Deputy, telling him of the capture of Derry, complaining that the English commander held himself in suspicion, and protesting before God that he was a faithful English subject. And he begged that all Tyrconnell should be given him, and also O'Doherty's lands. But the Deputy, distrusting him, advised him to attack and defeat O'Doherty, after which his reward would come.[60] This advice Nial had no intention of following; he was in fact just then in collusion

[56] Meehan, p. 295.
[57] Russel's *Calendar*, pp. 503-5.
[58] *Ibid.*, p. 495.
[59] *Ibid.*, p. 607; Gardiner, pp. 419-29.
[60] *Ibid.*, pp. 508-13, 516-20, 574.

with O'Doherty, nor was this unknown at Dublin.[61] But he was tolerated until the rebellion was crushed, and then he was arrested and lodged in Dublin Castle, where he soon had as his fellow prisoner Donall O'Cahan and Cormac MacBaron, brother of the Earl of Tyrone. The former had quarrelled with the bishop of Derry; it was said also that he had aided O'Doherty, and that, further, he was in sympathy with his father-in-law's flight, and would aid him if he returned.[62] As for MacBaron, he had hastened to Dublin to tell of his brother's flight, and wished as a reward that he should get the custodiam of his brother's lands. But instead of his loyalty being appreciated, his disloyalty was assumed, and instead of getting the custodiam of his brother's lands Davies rejoiced that the constable of Dublin Castle had the custodiam of him.[63] After being nearly two years in Dublin Castle, Nial Garve and O'Cahan made an attempt to escape, and all but succeeded.[64] They were then taken to London and lodged in the Tower, where they remained till they died. More than any others these two had effected the ruin of the Earl of Tyrone. If they earned thereby the hatred of their own countrymen, they also earned the contempt of their enemies, who never respected or trusted them. When no longer useful they were cast off with disdain; and for all their treachery, nearly twenty years imprisonment was the reward.

While these events were in progress in Ireland, many misfortunes had befallen those who had accompanied the Ulster chiefs in their flight. Their most urgent motive for going abroad was to escape destruction at home; they had learned from bitter experience what was the character of the English officials with whom they had to deal; and they believed they could more safely plead their innocence before the King even from their place of exile. From Louvain both the Earls sent a long statement of their grievances. They detailed how every right guaranteed to them had been invaded, every promise made to them broken; how witnesses were suborned to

[61] Russel's *Calendar*, p. 594.
[62] *Ibid.*, p. 590; Meehan, p. 289.
[63] Meehan, p. 271.
[64] Meehan, p. 319.

swear away their liberties and their lives; how nothing which they stated was believed, and nothing their enemies or treacherous friends stated was disbelieved; how even the highest officials of the King insulted them and provoked them beyond endurance.[65] If James had been advised by a fair-minded minister, he might have believed these statements, or at least he would have investigated them. But his chief adviser, Cecil, was a trickster and a bigot, understanding no motive except self-interest, unscrupulous as to means, and foremost in every measure of persecution against the Catholics. He hated these Irish chiefs, and under his advice the King did not deign to reply to the statement of the exiled Earls. Worse than this, he encouraged his ambassadors abroad to blacken their characters, and this was done with such success that they were prevented from going to Spain as they had intended; that their continued presence in the Low Countries was not regarded with favour; and that on their journey to Rome they were refused permission to enter Venice. But at Rome their reception was cordial. The Pope treated them with the honour due to princes. Both Earls had palaces placed at their disposal, and Tyrone was given an allowance of 100 crowns a month, augmented, a little later, by an allowance of 500 crowns from the King of Spain. Soon afterwards, Tyrconnell contracted malarial fever and died at Rome, while Maguire the same year (1605) died at Genoa. The surviving chief was the greatest, and by the English the most feared, and many were the spies who watched his movements. Perhaps he expected that Spain or France might have interceded for him with the English King and restored him to his country and his lands. In this he was disappointed, and equally futile was his hope that Spain and England might go to war; and as for returning to Ireland, where the natives were goaded to madness by their rulers, and would have flocked to his standards, this too was impossible, for the spies gave the earliest information of his plans, and they were thwarted as soon as they were formed. After the death of Cecil, in 1612, he made a personal appeal to the new minister, Somerset, but in vain; not even a reply was sent. Finally, in 1616,

[65] Meehan, pp. 193-225.

HUGH O'NEILL, EARL OF TYRONE

"La spada D'Orione Stellata nel cielo di marte cioé il valor militare de più celebri guerrieri de' nostri secoli . . . da primo damaschino," 1680

his hopes ceased, his plans were no longer formed. In that year he got seriously ill, as a result of which he became blind. Old, weary, and sightless, and, far away from his own Tyrone, he died, in July of that year, and was laid to rest beside O'Donnell in the Franciscan Church of St. Pietro in Montorio, on the summit of the Janiculam Hill.

In him the Irish lost their greatest leader, the greatest that had ever led them into battle or presided over their councils. Both Red Hugh and Art MacMurrogh were daring chiefs; but the former wanted steadiness and patience, while the latter confined his efforts to Leinster alone. Unlike O'Donnell, O'Neill was cautious and foreseeing, laying his plans with care, and refusing to be led by impulse or passion, and unlike MacMurrogh, his activity extended to the whole country, and his purpose was to combine, against the common enemy, the scattered fragments of the nation's power. Had he been born a century earlier, he would probably have driven the English from Ireland, broken up the clan system, and erected a powerful monarchy on its ruins. In his own day, against the whole forces of England, he all but succeeded; and failed only because of the universal treachery which surrounded him, a treachery so appalling, so shameful, that, except O'Donnell and Maguire, there was not one on whom an honest man could rely, none that was not a trickster or a cheat. Amid such leaders he towers as does the Pyramid over the plain. Later ages were not slow to recognise his worth; and in seasons of stress and storm his countrymen sought, but they sought in vain, for another Hugh O'Neill.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Plantation of Ulster.

AT the accession of the Stuarts, the long struggle between Irish and English civilisation was still maintained; but in three provinces out of four Irish institutions were disappearing, as English power was unmistakably predominant. In Connaught the Burkes flourished and were often as turbulent as their neighbours; yet they remembered their English descent and were susceptible to English influences; they accepted the Composition of Connaught and induced others to accept it. The head of their family, Clanricarde, was the champion and pillar of the English interest; and by his example and authority Connaught became familiar with English tenures, sheriffs were appointed, judges went circuit, jails were erected, and juries were empanelled.[1] Equally zealous in the same direction was the Earl of Thomond, whose County of Clare since 1602 was annexed to Munster; and over the wide extent of territory once subject to the Earls of Desmond the relations between chief and clansmen were being gradually, but effectually, extinguished. As for Leinster, it was the province of the Pale, the source and centre from which English influences radiated and effected change. But in Ulster the weakness of the Central Authority at Dublin in the 15th century, had enabled the chiefs to regain what they had lost, and to undo the work of De Courcy and his

[1] Russel's *Calendar* (1606-8), p. 485.

successors, until the tide of conquest was rolled back almost to the gates of Dublin. The ability of Shane O'Neill, and the still greater ability of his kinsman Hugh, postponed the Anglicising of their native province; and even at the submission of Mellifont it was the O'Neills and the O'Donnells and the Maguires who were still masters of Ulster.

It was the dream of Lord Burleigh to have English law and customs prevail throughout Ireland, yet he effected little, for the arrangement by which the chiefs received their lands by English tenure only turned them into powerful vassals of the crown, while the relations between them and their tenants remained unchanged. These tenants still held by Irish tenure and had no certain lands, but were allowed to graze a certain number of cattle on the common lands of the septs. They tilled but little; they ploughed with short ploughs tied to the horses' tails; their houses were of boughs coated with turf.[2] Even the chiefs dwelt in clay houses; and one of these chiefs, Conn O'Neill, advised his people not to learn English, nor sow wheat, nor build houses, for the first, he said, breeds conversation, the second commerce, and with the last they should speed as the crow that builds her nest to be beaten out by the hawk.[3] The people's wealth consisted in their cattle, in tending which most of their time was spent. These cattle were numbered from time to time on behalf of the chief; and according to the number each man had, was his rent assessed, and the rent was paid partly in money, partly in oats, oatmeal, butter, hogs and mutton.[4]

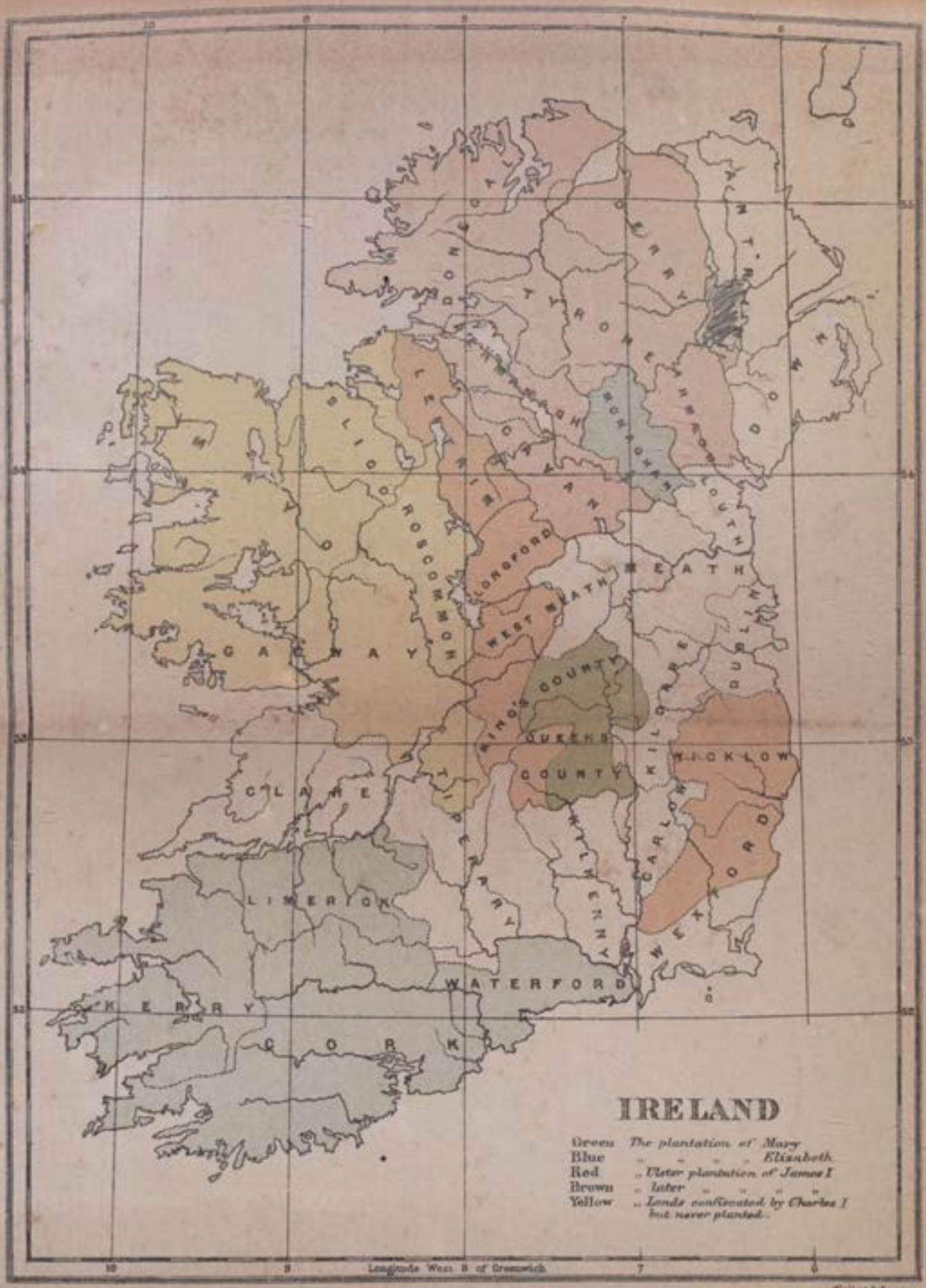
The son of Lord Burleigh, Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, was as anxious as his father that these customs should cease; that the right of the King as supreme Lord of all the lands in Ulster should be recognised; and that the chiefs and sub-chiefs should hold their lands by freehold tenure. By trusting the Earl of Tyrone, by kindly treatment of him, he might have carried out his policy. But he never trusted the Earl or the other Ulster chiefs; he rancorously remembered their long resistance and the expenses

[2] Russel's *Calendar* (1611-14), pp. 431-2.
[3] *Ibid.*, Preface.
[4] *Ibid.*, (1608-10), pp. 532-4.

thereby entailed on England; he suspected their loyalty, hated their religion, and excluded them from every branch of the executive government. His zeal was equalled and even exceeded by the Deputy and his subordinates, and hence was O'Doherty freed from dependence on the Earl of Tyrconnell, and O'Cahan from Tyrone; hence were the bishops supported when they laid claim to church lands; and Tyrone's tenants on one pretext or another were given their lands in freehold.

By the flight of the Earls and the rebellion of O'Doherty the main obstacles were removed to the most sweeping changes in Ulster. But it was necessary to proceed cautiously. The fugitive Earls were thought on the Continent to be deeply injured men, and they should, if possible, be declared guilty, and by a jury of their own countrymen. Nor was there much difficulty in this; and at Lifford, a jury, mostly Irish and Catholic, and with Sir Cahir O'Doherty as foreman, and at Strabane a jury similarly composed, presided over by Sir Henry O'Neill, found the Earls guilty of conspiring against the King, of intending to seize the Castle of Dublin, and of departing from the country with intent to return with foreign arms. They found also that the Earl of Tyrone had assumed the name of "The O'Neill," and that he was guilty of 19 murders. This referred to persons he had put to death by martial law.[5] The jurors at Lifford had some scruple about finding that the Earls plotted the King's death; but the arguments of Davies satisfied them —that if the Earls were rebels, then it necessarily followed they wished the King's death, for he that would take off his crown would take off his head, if he could. As to O'Doherty's treason, there was little delay in establishing that; there was an inquiry "super visum corporis;" his head fixed over the gates of Dublin Castle was the head of a traitor taken in open arms, and as such his lands also were forfeited to the crown.[6] The guilt of Nial Garve O'Donnell and of O'Cahan was taken as sufficiently established, and the guilt of Cormac O'Neill could not be established, but was assumed.[7]

[5] Russel's *Calendar* (1606-8), pp. 389-93, 555-6.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 613.
[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 590-1.


IRELAND
Green The plantation of Mary
Blue " " " Elizabeth
Red " Ulster plantation of James I
Brown " later " " " "
Yellow " Lands cultivated by Charles I but never planted.
Longitude West of Greenwich
ULSTER
CONNAUGHT
LEINSTER
MUNSTER
DONEGAL
LONDONDERRY
TYRONE
FERMANAGH
MONAGHAN
CAVAN
ARMAGH
DOWN
ANTRIM
LOUTH
MEATH
LONGFORD
WESTMEATH
ROSCOMMON
GALWAY
KING'S COUNTY
QUEEN'S COUNTY
KILDARE
WICKLOW
CARLOW
KILKENNY
TIPPERARY
WATERFORD
CLARE
LIMERICK
KERRY
CORK

Early in 1608, a Commission was appointed to ascertain what was the extent of the escheated lands in the six counties of Armagh, Cavan, Fermanagh, Donegal, Tyrone, and Derry, then called the county of Coleraine; what lands belonged to the church and to the chiefs; and what was to be done with these lands. The Commissioners, of whom the Bishop of Derry and Sir John Davies were members, drew up a project for the division of these lands, pointing out what were the classes to whom lands should be given, and in what proportion they should receive them.[8] Later in the same year, the Deputy and Davies were again in Tyrone, surveying that county. Thence they passed into Coleraine through the valley of Glenconkeine, where the wild inhabitants, says Davies, wondered as much to see the King's Deputy as the ghosts in Virgil wondered to see Eneas alive in Hell.[9] The lands of O'Doherty and O'Cahan, in the meantime, were added to those already escheated, and thus was the whole country from the Bann to Ballyshannon at the King's disposal. When the Deputy returned to Dublin, he sent Davies and Sir James Ley to London, giving them the Commissioners' project or plan for the settlement of Ulster; it was laid before a Committee of the English Privy Council, and debated and discussed by them, often in the presence of the King; and early in the next year Davies returned. Maps of the escheated counties were then made out, and in the following year (1610), a Commission was appointed to see that the project, as finally settled in London, was carried out.

It was to be a new Plantation, more thorough, more sweeping, more complete than any which had yet been attempted. The object of all such projects was to make the territories so settled English and Protestant, but so far each Plantation had failed to effect the purpose of its promoters. In the King's and Queen's Counties, the planters and the Irish were side by side, and so badly did they agree that it was thought necessary by the Government to remove the remnant of the O'Mores and the other native septs from the Queen's County to the County of Kerry (1609), a

[8] *Carew Papers*, pp. 13-22.
[9] Russel's *Calendar*, p. 16.

measure of severity and injustice. In Munster, the English Undertakers got tracts of land too large for them to occupy and till; they found it impossible to obtain a sufficiency of English and Protestant dependents, and had to employ Irish; some of them succumbed to native influences, and those who did not were overwhelmed in the disturbances that followed. Such mistakes as these, Davies and his fellow Commissioners were determined should not be repeated in Ulster. The land was to be divided between Undertakers, partly English, partly Scotch; servitors, that is, those who had served the government in Ireland in a civil or military capacity, all, or nearly all of whom were natives of England; and, lastly, the natives of Ulster. No Undertaker was to get more than 2,000 acres of land, others but 1,500 acres, others but 1,000; all were to be Protestants and to frequent the Protestant churches, and they were to employ no Irish in any capacity. They were to build stone houses, to plough and till after the English fashion, to enclose and fence their lands; and to have a certain number of freeholders in proportion to the lands they held. Some of these freeholders had 200 acres, some half that amount; some had even less than 20 acres; some held only under lease; all paid the Undertaker a fixed rent, and owed him no other service. The planter himself held from the crown, not by knight's service but by common socage; and what lands he had not parcelled out to tenants he held himself as demesne lands.[10] The servitors were placed in the most dangerous places. Their experience in native warfare would enable them better to watch the Irish and to defend the posts of danger. Like the Undertakers, they should build and sow in the English fashion, rigidly eschew Irish customs, employ no Irish except in menial occupations; nor were they to intermarry with them. The principal Irish were to get grants of land in the same way as the servitors and the Undertakers, and were to portion out part of these lands to their fellow-countrymen, to be held in freehold. They were to be placed in the plains, so that they could be more easily under the eyes of the servitors.

[10] For each parcel of 1,000 acres the Undertaker paid a Crown rent of £5 6s. 8d., the servitor, £8, the native Irish, £10 13s. 4d.

Zealous for Protestantism, the King and his advisers provided liberally for the Church. The ancient termon lands of Ulster were considerable, and these were given to the Protestant bishops to erect and support their churches. In addition to these, Chichester himself got all Inishowen; the City of London got the whole county of Coleraine, the name of which was changed to Londonderry; the Clothworkers got lands on the eastern shore of Lough Foyle; further south were the Haberdashers, and Grocers and Goldsmiths; on the western shore of Lough Neagh were the Salters and Drapers, and further inland were the Ironmongers and Skinners.[11] These corporations, like the bishops, were bound to have their lands peopled by English or Scotch, who would be good Protestants, and avoid and abhor the Irish.[12]

It was at first intended that the Undertakers should draw lots for their lands,[13] but Chichester disapproved of this method. It was better that they should be grouped together, so many in each group, and made up of those who were bound together by ties of friendship, or race, or blood. They would thus be more likely to combine for mutual defence against the common dangers to which on a strange and hostile country they might be exposed.[14] This suggestion was adopted, and each group of Undertakers, or rather the territory they occupied, became known as a precinct. Exclusive of the lands assigned to the London Corporations and of the Church lands, there were 28 such precincts, of which 8 were exclusively English, 8 exclusively Scotch; the remaining 12 being either servitors or natives.[15] Chichester pleaded that the better sort of the natives should be given substantial portions of lands; there were numbers of swordsmen in Ulster, sons and brothers of chiefs, men who had fought in the late wars, and whom it would be highly dangerous to provoke. Some of these had fought on the English side, and had been promised special treatment. But the Deputy pleaded their cause in vain, and in the final settlement the natives

[11] *Carew Papers*, p. 15; Russel's *Calendar*, p. 136; Hill's *Plantation of Ulster*, p. 432.
[12] Russel's *Calendar*, pp. 54-65; Harris's *Hibernica*, pp. 105-38.
[13] Carew, p. 14.
[14] Russel's *Calendar*, pp. 159.
[15] Russel's *Calendar*, p. 411.

got only a miserable share out of all proportion to what they expected, and out of all proportion to what, in Chichester's view, they should have got. And when these Commissioners announced their decision at Cavan (1610) there was grave dissatisfaction. The natives had employed a lawyer to plead for them, and he claimed that they had estates of inheritance and were not involved in the treason of their chiefs. But Davies, who grudged them anything, held that their tenure was only Irish tenure, which had been declared void in law; that they never built houses or orchards, which was an admission on their own part of the uncertain nature of their tenure; and that they were only a pack of bastards, as they never respected lawful matrimony; and he concluded, and satisfied his fellow Commissioners, that the King was free to dispose of their lands in law, in conscience and in honour.[16] In Fermanagh, Conor Maguire as the Queen's Maguire, complained of his treatment, and in Tyrone the O'Quinns and the O'Hagans did the same; but there was no further trouble. Powerless to resist, the natives resigned themselves to the inevitable; the Plantation of Ulster became an accomplished fact; English and Scotch were put in possession of their new estates; and the Irish sullenly abandoned the fields they loved, in whose earth the bones of their fathers were laid, and in whose bosom they hoped to rest, when the joys and sorrows of life were over. The swordsmen who were most feared by the English were in part shipped away to Sweden, to fight the battles of a Protestant King, and Chichester claimed that 6,000 of these had been sent away during his term of office.[17] Ireland was peaceable because it was helpless, and Davies and men like him rejoiced at the work they had done, and pronounced that it was good. But Carew, the former President of Munster, who was then in Ireland (1614) saw further than they did. He thought that if a rebellion did arise in the future it would be much more dangerous to the State than any that had preceded it; that the new Plantation of Ulster and of other parts with English and Scotch would greatly embitter the quarrel.[18] And the rebellion of 1641 and the torrents of blood which on many

[16] Russel's *Calendar*, pp. 497-501.
[17] *Ibid.* (1611-14), p. 479.
[18] *Carew Papers*, Preface.

occasions since have been shed show how clear was his foresight and how amply his prediction was fulfilled.

During all these events, no Parliament was held at Dublin; but when Ulster was settled and Ireland at peace it was thought well that one should be summoned. For the first time it would be the Parliament of all Ireland, and it would be important if this national assembly would approve of what had been done. In 1612, Heads of Bills were sent to England, to be examined and approved of in accordance with Poyning's Act. The desired measures were examined and sent back; 38 new boroughs were created, thus making 226 members of Parliament in all; writs were then sent out, and in May of the following year the Parliament so summoned and constituted assembled in Dublin. In the counties and boroughs, the number of voters was small, but they were overwhelmingly Catholic except in the newly planted districts of Ulster. A Parliament with a large Catholic majority ill-suited the King and his advisers, and hence so many new boroughs were formed, for the purpose of securing a Protestant majority. The Catholics, fearing new penal laws, protested against the new boroughs and against many irregularities in the elections; and six Catholic Lords addressed a letter to the King complaining that they had not, contrary to custom, been consulted by the Deputy in preparing the Heads of Bills; that some of the new boroughs did not pass the rank of the poorest villages in the poorest country in Christendom; that an assembly so constituted was not the voice of the people; and they asked the King not to have as Parliamentary boroughs places consisting of a few beggarly cottages; to order that Parliament should be conducted with moderation; and to withdraw such laws as might tend to forcing the people's consciences in matters of religion.[19] No answer was sent to this petition; the few beggarly cottages were constituted boroughs; and when Parliament met, the Protestants had a majority in the Upper House, and in the House of Commons they had 128 to 98, counting all the new boroughs, and all returned by the new sheriffs, though the returns in many cases were matters of dispute,

The first business in the House of Commons was to elect a

[19] Russel's *Calendar*, Preface.

Speaker, and after an undignified squabble, in which force was used, Sir John Davies was elected. As a protest the Catholics withdrew, and would take no further part in the proceedings of Parliament;[20] the Catholic lords followed their example; and both drew up petitions to the Deputy, the English Council and the King. Parliament was then prorogued, six Catholic delegates went to London, while the Irish Council sent three; and in London there was much debate before the King and Council, about the general grievances of the Catholics, about the abuses of Irish administration, and about the irregularities at the recent elections. Commissioners were sent by the King to Ireland to inquire on the spot, and when they returned there were further debates and complaints, and finally the King announced his decision, in April, 1614.[21] A report had gone abroad that he meant to tolerate the Catholic religion—he had said so to Sir James Gough—but the alarm among the Protestants became so great, that the King now declared he meant no such thing, that his words had been misconstrued; and Gough was cast into prison. And perhaps these facts will partly explain the character of the King's speech in giving his decision. He told the Catholic delegates that they had carried themselves tumultuously; that their proceedings were rude and disorderly and worthy of severe punishment, which could only be redeemed by their future good behaviour; that the Catholics in Parliament were a body without a head, a "very bugbear." He asked them what right had they to question what boroughs he created, or peers; he could have made 40 peers and 400 boroughs if he wished, "the more the merrier, the fewer the better cheer;" as Catholics he considered them as half subjects, for the Pope was their father in spirituals, himself only in temporals. As to the 14 returns they complained of, only two were proved false, and in his judgment nothing was proved faulty, unless indeed they would have the kingdom of Ireland like the Kingdom of Heaven.

After this long interval, Parliament resumed its sittings, and Davies was recognised Speaker by all parties, and took special care

[20] Russel's *Calendar*, pp. 392-405; *Carew Papers*, pp. 270-5.
[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 373-81, 387-8, 472, 456.

to conciliate the Catholics. The Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell were then attainted; the bill recognising the King's title to their lands was passed, and, these things done, Parliament was prorogued. And Davies rejoiced that it had done good work; for the newly erected boroughs, which Parliament recognised, would be perpetual seminaries of Protestant burgesses, it being provided in their charters that the provost and twelve chief burgesses who were to elect all the others should take the Oath of Supremacy; next, both Catholics and Protestants had attainted the Earl of Tyrone, and foreign nations would note this, because it had been said that only the Protestants plotted his ruin; lastly, laws had been passed to root out felons on land and pirates on sea, and the King's title to the Ulster lands was recognised, though Davies added, in the spirit of a courtier, that this added nothing to his Majesty's undoubted rights.[22] In this better temper of all parties, no penal laws were enacted against the Catholics, and those in existence were not enforced; while the provisions of the Statute of Kilkenny in regard to intermarriages and fostering between English and natives, were repealed. The Catholics expressed their gratitude by voting a subsidy to the King, which was taken thankfully, and James declared that the differences which had lately arisen between the contending parties in Parliament were the result of ignorance and misunderstanding, that he had cancelled the memory of them, and that henceforth he would be as careful of all his subjects in Ireland as he was of the safety of his own person.[23] Parliament was then dissolved (1615), and the next year Chichester, raised to the peerage as Baron of Belfast, retired from the viceroyalty, and went to London, where, in 1625, he died.[24]

During his long term of office he had treated the Catholics with great severity; cruelly put to death the aged Bishop of Derry, O'Devanny, whose only crime was that he was a Catholic Bishop and refused to change his faith; and many were the officials he had dismissed from office because they refused to take the Oath of

[22] Russel's *Calendar*, pp. 514-17.
[23] Gardiner's *History of England* (1603-42), Vol. II., pp. 285-303.
[24] Meehan, pp. 411-13.

Supremacy.[25] In retiring from office he could truly say that he had laboured hard for the extirpation of Popery, but had to confess that he had failed, though not through any fault of his own.[26] His successor, Sir Oliver St. John, was even more rabidly opposed to the Catholics, and evidently hoped to succeed where Chichester had failed. Before he became Deputy he had sat in the Irish Parliament; and in the session of 1615 unsuccessfully endeavoured to have the 5th of November made a religious festival. After he became Deputy, his zeal had freer scope; and a stupid rebellion in Ulster (1616), in which it was sought to liberate from his prison at Charlemont the Earl of Tyrone's son, gave him a plausible excuse for fresh measures of severity. A proclamation of banishment was then published against the regular clergy;[27] all magistrates and officers of justice were required to take the Oath of Supremacy, on pain of dismissal from office; and the Corporation of Waterford, because they persisted in electing a Catholic mayor, were deprived of their charter.[28] Chichester had already attempted to repeat in Wexford what had been done in Ulster, and nearly half its lands were taken from the natives and handed over to Undertakers. Not satisfied with this, St. John wanted to plant Longford and Ely O'Carroll; and he suggested that little land be allowed to the natives anywhere.[29] These measures, in a country which was almost exclusively Catholic, and in which there was no disturbance which could justify further confiscations, produced widespread discontent, and everywhere the Deputy was regarded as a tyrant and a bigot. In addition to this, he had offended some of his co-religionists who were in occupation of Church lands, which he sought to take from them.[30] Their complaints were joined to those of the Catholics; under such a Deputy peace seemed impossible and discontent might ripen into rebellion. It was thought better to have a man of different temperament in charge of the Irish Government, and, in 1622, St. John was recalled to England;

[25] *Four Masters. Spicilegium Ossoriense*, Vol. I., pp. 124-6.
[26] Russel's *Calendar*, (1615-25), pp. 19-20, 69.
[27] Leland's *History of Ireland*, Vol. II., p. 461.
[28] *Carew Papers*, pp. 335-41.
[29] *Ibid.*, pp. 367-8.
[30] Leland, p. 462.

but lest he might feel hurt at his treatment, he was created a peer, with the title of Viscount Grandison. [31]

In 1593, a Protestant College was founded at Dublin. It was endowed with the lands of the Monastery of All Hallows, and subsequently got several thousands of acres of the escheated lands of Ulster, and under the name of the College of the Undivided Trinity it was to be a centre and stronghold of Protestant instruction. The sons of the native chiefs who might be detained in Dublin as hostages, and who being under age, were Government wards, were educated within its walls. At the most impressionable period of life, their minds were moulded and their principles formed there, and if they were allowed back to their own people, they went, hating the religion in which their fathers had died and which was still professed by the people around them. Thus was one object of the new College attained. Even a more important object was to train a capable ministry who would rescue Protestantism from the disrepute of being preached to the people by stablemen and horse-boys. Among the first so trained was James Usher. In ability and learning he was easily first among Irish Protestants of the time. But his great intellect was darkened by religious bigotry, and in an age which did not practise toleration, or believe in it, none was more intolerant than he. He favoured that sect of the Protestant Church in England which had grown into prominence under the name of the Puritans, a narrow, illiberal, intolerant sect which followed Calvin rather than Luther. They sought, in 1595, to impose their peculiar tenets on the Church of England, and drew up a formulary of faith under the name of the Lambeth Articles; but their formulary was rejected both by Queen Elizabeth and by James I. Yet, swayed by the learning of Usher, the Convocation of the Irish Church adopted the spirit, almost the very words, of these articles (1615), and in a formulary drawn up by them, and approved by the Deputy, it was declared, following Calvin, that some were predestined to be saved and others to be damned; that the Sabbath day is to be entirely dedicated to God and not even necessary works performed; that the Pope was the Man of Sin

[31] Leland, Vol. II., p. 463; Cox, p. 36.

foretold in the Scripture.[32] To such a man as Usher, the bare thought that the policy of intolerance and persecution pursued by St. John was to be reversed under his successor, was little short of a scandal; and when the new Deputy, Falkland, came to Dublin, Usher, then Bishop of Meath, preached before him, and taking his text from the Epistle to the Romans—"He beareth not the sword in vain"—he delivered a violent attack on the Catholics, winding up with the curious declaration that he abhorred all cruel dealings against them, and wished that effusion of blood might be held the badge of the Whore of Babylon rather than of the Church of God. This heartless language towards a people already grievously afflicted was condemned by the aged Protestant Primate of Armagh, in language the mildness of which was not unworthy of an Apostle. Usher got ashamed of his words, and tried to explain them away, and for the moment the Catholics were left in peace.[33] But it was not for long, and in the next year (1623), a proclamation was issued ordering the clergy, secular and regular, to quit the kingdom. In the next two years they were by turns persecuted and favoured. The son and heir of King James was negotiating a marriage with a Spanish princess, which finally came to nothing, and during the negotiations his failure or success was reflected in the treatment of the Irish Catholics. If he was on the point of succeeding they were treated kindly, if on the point of failure the penal laws against them were enforced.[34]

It was at this date (1625) that James I. died. He was but little regretted in England, where his passion for unworthy favourites excited displeasure, his pedantry contempt, his low habits disgust; while the earnestness with which he asserted the absolute power of a sovereign, and the duty of the subjects to blindly obey him, was little in harmony with the rising spirit of liberty.[35] In Ireland, he was regretted still less. He could have interfered to see that the Catholics were treated with fair play, as long as they

[32] Mant, pp. 384-7.
[33] *Ibid.*, pp. 408-12; Cox, pp. 35-9.
[34] Russel's *Calendar*, pp. 433-60.
[35] Lang. *History of Scotland*, Vol. II., pp. 477-8.

were loyal; yet he allowed them to be worried by penal laws. When Tyrone and those in rebellion submitted, he pardoned them for all they had done; yet, without any crime being proved against them, he confiscated their lands, as he did the lands of the natives in Wexford and Longford, and at his death he was contemplating further confiscations.[36]

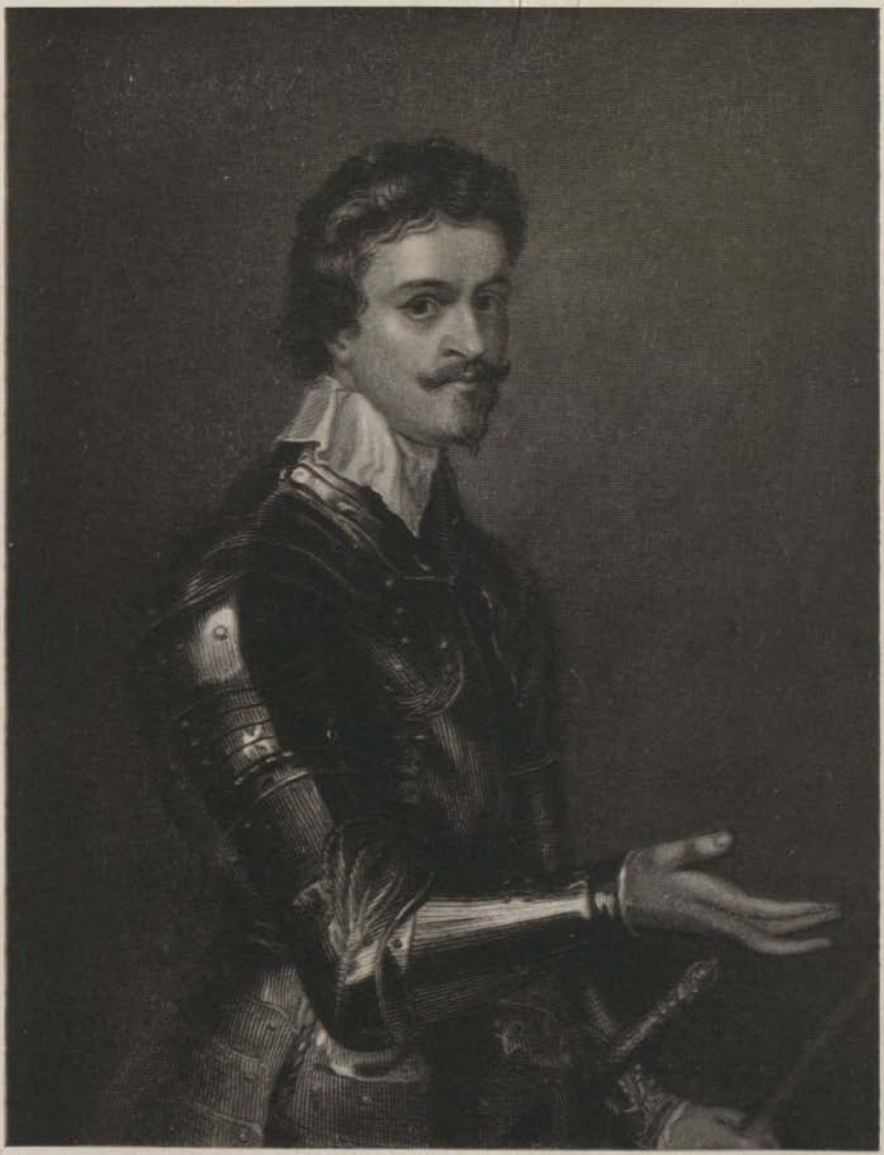
From the new King, Charles I., the Irish expected better than plantations and persecutions, and therefore regarded his accession with pleasure. He was young, his bad qualities were not yet developed, and the year he became King he married a Catholic princess; and it was not likely that he would persecute his subjects because they professed a creed which was also professed by his own Queen. Next to their religious grievances was the question of the land. Possession for centuries, pardon for offences committed, even services rendered to the Crown, seemed to give no security. A crowd of hungry adventurers spread themselves over the country, and held inquisitions as to the titles by which the natives held their lands; venal themselves, they were able to get juries who were venal and corrupt; and under pretence of advancing the public interest and increasing the King's revenue, they dispossessed many Catholic proprietors and seemed bent on dispossessing many more. In this matter, those of English descent were as badly off as the old Irish, and all were anxious for some guarantee that they should not be disturbed, nor did it suit the King to drive them to desperation. England was at war with Spain; there was talk of a descent of the Spaniards on Ireland; and if the Spaniards did come, the Irish would hail them as deliverers.[37] In order to make the Catholics more loyal, some toleration in religion must be given them. But the bare mention of toleration scandalized the Protestants, and Usher, now Archbishop of Armagh, summoned all the bishops and vehemently denounced it (1626), declaring that Catholicity was superstitious and idolatrous, and that to tolerate it, especially for money, was to participate in sin and to set religion to sale. The English Parliament, dominated by Puritans, were

[36] Russel's *Calendar*, Preface.
[37] *Ibid.*, p. 537.

equally bigoted, and remonstrated with equal vehemence.[38] Yet to a needy sovereign such as Charles the offer of the Catholics was alluring, for they offered to give the King a subsidy of £120,000, to be paid in three yearly instalments. Charles accepted the offer, and in exchange promised them certain privileges called graces. By these lawyers might practice in the courts without taking the Oath of Supremacy; titles to lands held for 60 years were not to be raised; and the inhabitants of Connaught, who were especially menaced, might make a new surrender of their lands, get new letters patent for them, and have these patents enrolled in the Court of Chancery, paying the same fees as were paid in the preceding reign; and this done, their titles should never again be questioned. These "graces" and others were to be brought before Parliament and to receive Parliamentary sanction; but the time passed; the money instalments were paid by the Catholics; nor had the "graces" been granted when Falkland, in 1629, was recalled. In the meantime, a fresh proclamation was issued that "Popish rites and ceremonies" were to cease; St. Patrick's Purgatory in Donegal was dug up and desecrated (1630); fifteen religious houses were seized for the King's use, and a Catholic College lately erected at Back Lane in Dublin was handed over to Trinity College. Under the stern rule of the succeeding Deputy, and no doubt by his advice, the King, having got the money, failed to keep his word; and the "graces" were never given, and never even brought before Parliament.[39]

The new Deputy, the ablest, the boldest, the most unscrupulous who ever yet filled the office, was Lord Wentworth, better known as the Earl of Strafford. For more than ten years his position had been a prominent one in the English Parliament, where he had resisted the arbitrary proceedings of the King. Yet he did not want revolutionary reforms, nor did he want to set up the despotism of Parliament in place of the despotism of the Crown. He was a staunch supporter of Episcopalian Protestanism, and had no sympathy with the Puritans; and when these latter, not satisfied

[38] Cox, pp. 43-4.
[39] *Ibid.*, pp. 45, 55; Mant, Vol. I., p. 433.



THE EARL OF STRAFFORD

AFTER A PAINTING BY VAN DYCK

with the concessions they had obtained, wanted the undue limitations of the royal prerogative, and the abolition of episcopacy as an evil, he deserted them, and ranged himself on the King's side.[40] Nor was he less zealous henceforward as a defender of the King's rights, than he had been as a champion of popular liberty. In Ireland he found many things which required immediate attention, many abuses which required to be reformed, much discontent which it was necessary to allay. The officials were insolent and overbearing, the army ill-paid and inefficient, pirates insulted and plundered the coast-towns;[41] there were many monopolies which pressed hard on the people. In Ulster the planters did not observe the conditions under which they had obtained grants of land. in the Protestant Church the ministers were uneducated, some non-resident and holding a plurality of benefices; the churches were in ruins, the church lands alienated to laymen, church ceremonies a burlesque of what church ceremonies ought to be.[42]

Under the inspiration of Usher, Protestantism had adopted some of the doctrines of Puritanism; and there were cases in Ulster where bishops had accepted the services of ministers who were Presbyterians, and who vigorously and openly rejected an episcopal form of church government.[43] The Catholics were especially discontented. The vast majority of the nation, they were excluded from all share in the executive government; the laws requiring them to attend the Protestant services and to take the Oath of Supremacy at any time might be enforced; and while they had paid the subsidies, none of the "graces" had been given them. As to their lands, there was universal insecurity. It was an age of adventurers and freebooters, and if some men went to America to make their fortunes, others went to Ireland. Their object was to get land; they were not scrupulous as to means or methods; and the officials in Dublin were ready to encourage them, and were often acting in collusion with them. Under the specious plea of increasing the King's revenue all manner of frauds were

[40] Lingard, Vol. VII., pp. 164-8.
[41] *Calendar of the Ormond MSS.*, Vol. I., p. 25.
[42] Stafford's *Letters*, Vol. I., pp. 90, 96, 171.
[43] Mant, Vol. I., pp. 454-60.

perpetrated. It might be that when the natives surrendered their lands to get them back by English tenure, they neglected to take out the requisite letters patent; or, if they took out letters patent, these documents were not enrolled in Chancery, as they should be; it might be that some flaw was subsequently found; the rents were not paid in the prescribed form, the name of a townland was not given correctly; and on such pretexts they were dragged before a court and fined, or deprived of all or of portion of their lands. [44]

Or it might be that the landholder compounded with his tormenter by giving him money or part of his land, only to find that some fresh accusation was made, and the former composition left him still insecure. And if no defective title could be established, false charges against the landholder were put forth, as in the case of Phelim O'Byrne of Wicklow; in whose case criminals were reprieved at the gallows and prisoners set free so as to swear against him; others were tortured for the same purpose. Shane O'Toole and two others declared on the scaffold that they were asked to swear against O'Byrne, and because they refused, and for no other reason, they were thus hurled into eternity. [45]

If these proceedings had increased the King's revenue, Wentworth would complain little; for he had no sense of law or justice, had little sympathy with the natives, and none at all with those who were Catholics. [46] It was not, however, the King who was enriched, but individuals, and Wentworth called a Parliament, as he wished to have its sanction for what he intended to do. It was difficult to get the Protestants and Catholics to agree. The former wanted more persecutions and more confiscations of Catholic lands; but Wentworth dexterously played off one party against the other, telling the Protestants he was of their Church and would defend its privileges, telling the Catholics that the "graces" would be granted. In the first session Parliament voted to the King six subsidies amounting to £100,000. In the second session the question of the "graces" was considered, and under the domination of

[44] Carte's *Life of the Duke of Ormond*, Vol. I., pp. 60-1.

[45] Belling's *History of the Irish Confederation*, Appendix; Miss Hickson's *Ireland in the Seventeenth Century*, Vol. II., pp. 306-23.

[46] Green's *Short History of the English People*, Vol. III., p. 155.

Wentworth it was decided that some minor concessions might be granted, some others might be left to the King's good pleasure, but the one limiting the King's title to a period of 60 years, and the other for passing new letters patent for Connaught and Clare were absolutely refused, the Deputy declaring that they were not expedient for the kingdom just then, or necessary, or convenient to be enacted.[47]

The next year (1635), Wentworth went to Connaught. He considered Ireland to be a conquered country, at the disposal of the King, who could tax the people as he pleased, and revoke or modify grants of lands made by preceding kings.[48] With such ideas, he proceeded to establish the King's title to the lands of Connaught. In Sligo and Roscommon and Mayo he had little difficulty. He frightened the sheriffs, and browbeat the juries; and in each case it was found that the lands belonged to the King.[49] In Galway, they were not so complying. When they accepted the Composition of Connaught and surrendered their lands, they got them back by English tenure, as they did in other counties. But some had neglected to take out the necessary letters patent. In the reign of James, however, the offer of such letters was given them, and fees were paid to the amount of £3,000 to have the documents enrolled in the Court of Chancery. But, whether through carelessness or dishonesty the court officials neglected to do their duty; and one of the "graces" had special reference to these cases, and provided that the enrolments should be made without any further charge, a concession which Wentworth was careful to refuse. The Galway jurors remembered these facts, and failed to find the verdict Wentworth required; and so enraged was he at their obstinacy that he prosecuted them for a conspiracy with the sheriff, and each was fined £4,000, and was to be kept in prison until the fine was paid.[50] What he meditated was a Plantation of Connaught; but the time was unpropitious for such a scheme; it would certainly mean war; civil war in England was threatened; and

[47] Strafford's *Letters*, Vol. I., pp. 259, 277-9; Carte's *Ormond*, Vol. I., p. 81.
[48] Lingard, Vol. VII., pp. 200-1.
[49] Carte, p. 82.
[50] Strafford's *Letters*, Vol. I., pp. 443-4, 451-4.

that prospective trouble was enough for the King, without having a war in Ireland as well. It was, therefore, thought best to accept the advice of the Earl of Clanricarde; and, to the disgust of Wentworth, the projected Plantation was abandoned, the fines imposed on the Galway jurymen were reduced, and they were set at liberty. [51] But the landholders throughout the province had to make a new composition, and take out new letters patent; and the landholders throughout Ireland, about whose titles any question might be raised, hastened to do the same. The King's treasury was thus enriched; in addition, the Court of Wards, which regulated the affairs of minors, was reorganised and contributed to the revenue; and the Earl of Cork, for having seized some church lands, was fined £2,000 a year, and the London Corporation, for not having fulfilled its covenants, was fined £70,000. [52] To these harsh measures it may be added that the Deputy prohibited woollen manufacturers in Ireland, fearing that the English manufacturers would suffer; and such was his despotic character that, for some disparaging words used towards himself by Lord Mountmorris, he had that nobleman tried by court martial and sentenced to death, though the sentence was not carried out.

Yet, if his rule was that of a tyrant, it was not always unjust, and Ireland during these years enjoyed a prosperity which for years before she had not known. The army was made efficient, justice impartially administered, petty persecutions of the people ceased, the trade of the inquisitor for defective titles was no longer plied. Some monopolies were withdrawn and no fresh ones granted; the duty on coal imported from England was taken away. In place of the woollen manufactures he established linen manufactures in Ulster, and brought suitable flax seed from Holland and skilled workmen from France; and he spent in this project £30,000 of his own private fortune. Finally, when he left Ireland, in 1639, industry flourished, some sense of security existed, and over the whole country was profound peace. [53]

[51] Strafford's *Letters*, Vol. II., p. 381.
[52] Carte's *Ormond*, p. 83.
[53] Carte, Vol. III., pp. 8-11; Cox, pp. 56-8; Strafford's *Letters*, Vol. II. pp. 8, 9, 17-21.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Rebellion of 1641.

It is the testimony of Sir John Davies that no nation under the sun loved evenhanded justice better than the Irish, or would rest better satisfied with the execution of it, even though it were against themselves.[1] But if they were quick to appreciate just laws, justly administered, they were equally quick to perceive and resent injustice, and their sense of justice was shocked and outraged by the treatment of the Earl of Tyrone. Had he joined in any conspiracy to overturn the government, the Act of Attainder passed against him, and the confiscation of his lands, would not excite surprise; but, except some vague and indefinite charges, nothing was proved against him before any impartial tribunal. The jury which convicted him at Strabane was browbeaten, and the acts of which he was found guilty were either committed in war, and, therefore, forgiven by the terms of his submission, or they were done by martial law, and only during the period he was allowed by the government to exercise it. As for the plot to seize Dublin Castle, even the informer Howth could do no more than suspect him;[2] and if Tyrone were guilty, the others named by Howth—Mountgarret, Burke, and McDonnell—were

[1] *Historical Tracts*, p. 227.
[2] Meehan, pp. 105-12.

equally guilty; yet so far from being attainted or otherwise punished, they were secured in their possessions and ennobled, Burke becoming Viscount Mayo, and MacDonnell Earl of Antrim, Tyrone's crime was that he had fought for Ireland, and for the Catholic Faith, and still more, that he had thousands of broad acres which were coveted by English and Scotch.

Again was justice outraged in the Plantation of Ulster, for not only were many dispossessed of their lands who had no share in Tyrone's supposed designs, and could not, therefore, be partakers in his supposed guilt; not only were these lands given to others of an alien race and creed, but the small portion of the lands reserved to the Irish was often, by force or fraud, still further curtailed, and many of them were cast forth, without a house to shelter them or lands to till. And while the natives who got lands were punished, if they violated the prescribed conditions, the planters ignored these conditions when it suited them, and they did so with impunity. In spite of the regulation that nobody was to get more than 2,000 acres, and that on this they were to build stone houses, and plant freeholders, Lord Ochiltree was found by Pynar (1619) to have 3,500 acres, Lord Castlehaven 9,000 acres, Sir William Stewart 5,000 acres, Sir Ralph Bingley 4,000 acres; and Sir John Davies, so quick to lay down laws for others, and to impose conditions on them, had 2,000 acres in Tyrone, 1,500 in Fermanagh, and 500 in Armagh; and on this latter estate, nothing whatever was built, nor was there a single English tenant.[3] Lord Castlehaven had no freeholder on his estate, and not only raised his tenants' rents but deprived them of portion of their lands; on the estate of Sir Thomas Ashe, the buildings were of sods, and there were no freeholders; and on the estate of Sir John Drummond his tenants could get nothing from him but promises. Lastly, Trinity College, which was granted 10,000 acres, was found to be possessed of 96,000 acres; and side by side with this we have the case of Connor Roe Maguire, who was promised the six baronies of Fermanagh, and got in reality but portion of one barony for his share.[4]

[3] Harris's *Hibernica*, pp. 140-241.
[4] Hill's *Plantation of Ulster*, p. 61

The natives of Ulster were taught in those early days of the Stuarts that to be peaceful and law-abiding availed them nothing; that, being Irish and Catholic, they were considered aliens and outcasts in their native land. They saw their fields given over to English and Scotch, and this while they were unconscious of crime; they saw the religion to which they clung, and on which they placed their hopes of eternal salvation, proscribed and persecuted, their churches in ruins, or used by ministers of an alien creed, while their own bishops and priests were declared to be public enemies; and they saw the lands which the piety of their ancestors had given to the monasteries, now handed over to a church, zealous only to wean them from the faith in which they were born.[5] Some of these Ulstermen, who had once known affluence, were forced to farm a wretched patch of land, from which they eked out a wretched existence;[6] some went into exile; others wandered about the country without either land or home. Bitterly did they regret that, in his hour of need, they had deserted the Earl of Tyrone, and gone over to the ranks of his foes. They had been cruelly deceived; and from the Bann to Ballyshannon every Irishman's heart was filled with rage, and only a leader, and an opportunity, were required to have the whole province again in arms.

Disaffection was not confined to Ulster. The Plantation in Wexford, in which over 14,000 people were sent adrift, had unsettled that county, and filled its inhabitants with terror, and the means employed to convict Phelim O'Byrne shocked every man with the most elementary conception of justice; and the scandal was all the greater when it was found that bribery and perjury, and the hanging of innocent men, were the weapons used by a man in the position of Sir William Parsons, who afterwards got part of O'Byrne's lands.[7] In King's County, and Leitrim, and Westmeath, Plantations were either attempted or effected, and discontent followed; in Longford some of the dispossessed went mad, and others died of grief.[8] And some of the O'Farrells of that county,

[5] Mahaffy's *Calendar* (1633-47), pp. 31-2, 47, 87-8.
[6] Hill, p. 349.
[7] Russel's *Calendar* (1615-25), pp. 124-6, 303-6; Carte, Vol. I., p. 32.
[8] *Ibid.*, 230-2, 263-4, 280-1.

being on their death beds, asked their friends to carry them out in the open air, so that before they died they could once more get a sight of the fields they had lost.[9] In Connaught, there was a large number of the old English; but they found under the government of Strafford that their rights were no more sacred than those of the O'Connors and the O'Rorkes; and thus was the circle of disaffection ever widening; thus, menaced with confiscation of their lands, and persecuted for their religion, were Anglo-Irish and Irish united by a common danger, all equally alarmed and equally insecure.[10]

Hampered by the provisions of Poyning's law, the Irish Parliament was ill-fitted to be the medium of reform, yet, if it was freely elected, even on the most limited franchise, it would have given voice to the people's discontent, and provided a redress for the wrongs under which they groaned. But the reckless creation of boroughs by James I., and the irregularities of the elections of 1613, showed that it was not intended that it should represent the whole nation, but should be the representative of a dominant caste; and the treatment of the Catholic party, who were punished and insulted, because they gave utterance to their views, showed that, to the vast majority of the nation, liberty of speech and constitutional action were forbidden. It seemed useless for the members to introduce measures of reform, if these measures would on no account be allowed to pass; useless to remonstrate against injustice when remonstrance was considered treason; nor could there be any confidence in a Parliament which was used as an instrument to oppress the people rather than to give expression to the people's will. For a moment the prospect seemed to brighten when Falkland came as Viceroy, for Falkland was sympathetic, and the King wanted money; and it was in these circumstances the Irish voted the subsidies, and the King granted the "graces." If the royal promise had been fulfilled the Catholics would have got security of their lands and toleration of their religion, and tranquillity would have supervened. But the perfidy of Charles and of Strafford brought on fresh disappointment, and still

[9] Prendergast's *Cromwellian Settlement*, p. 47.
[10] Mahaffy's *Calendar* (1625-60), pp. 213-15.

further embittered the popular mind; more subsidies were granted by the Catholics, but no substantial concession was granted in return; and Strafford, with little regard for the Irish Parliament, or for any Parliament, governed without its assistance.

During these years, his rule was a despotism, in which, however, he tyrannised with impartial severity, for if he did not love the Catholics, neither did he love the Puritans.[11] He would have them accept the doctrines of Episcopalian Protestantism; he would have no "Tom Loodle's Commonwealth," no government by the multitude in religion; and he considered the peculiar notions of the Puritans in church government as nothing better. Both Catholic and Puritan, so long at enmity, were now equally oppressed; if they could not agree in matters of religion, they could agree at least in detestation of the power which oppressed them.[12] And when Strafford left Ireland, and a Parliament was called (1640), it seemed as if mutual hatreds were laid aside, and that both parties, welded together into one national party, were determined to have their grievances redressed. On the Catholic side the leader in these proceedings was Roger Moore. Belonging to the O'Mores of Leix, he was one of the few of that ill-fated race who secured even a small portion of his ancestors' estates. He was in possession of some landed property in Kildare, was connected by marriage with some powerful Anglo-Irish families, had travelled much, was well educated, with fascinating manners and a handsome face. A Catholic, but no bigot—he sought to allay sectarian rancour and promote toleration—and in his place in Parliament endeavoured to bring Puritan and Catholic together. He was the chief agent in inducing his co-religionists to vote the subsidies; but though disappointed at what followed, he bided his time, watched Strafford's conduct towards the Ulster Puritans, and noted their discontent; and in the Irish Parliament in 1640, he endeavoured to obtain the co-operation of all those who had felt the heavy hand of the despotic Deputy.[13]

[11] Mahaffy's *Calendar*, (1633-47) pp. 131-4; Carte, Vol. III., p. 20; Mant, Vol. I., p. 488.

[12] Mahaffy, 239, 302-3.

[13] Carte, Vol. I., pp. 156-7.

Meanwhile, England was in a ferment. No Parliament had been held for more than ten years. With reluctance the King had consented to the Petition of Right, and with reluctance and insincerity he carried out its terms. But when the Parliament in return showed no gratitude; when its members refused to vote the necessary supplies, and spent their time wrangling over questions of theology, over the 39 Articles, and the creed of the Arminians, Charles lost all patience, and dissolved the unruly assembly, and for many years he governed without a Parliament. And during these years he acted as if the Petition of Right never existed. He levied tonnage and poundage, raised forced loans, imprisoned arbitrarily, condemned without trial, billeted soldiers on the people, put the Star Chamber and High Commission Court into operation; and for the purpose of protecting the coast a tax, called ship money, was levied, against which the most violent outcries were raised. And while this tax bore heavily on the people, the coasts were so insufficiently protected, that pirates infested the English seas, English subjects were captured by the Moors, and sold as slaves; the Dutch and French fleets were each becoming more powerful than the English, and a combination of both threatened to sweep England off the sea.[14] Without a Parliament there was no medium through which popular discontent might obtain utterance; but if it was not expressed it was nevertheless existent, and was deep-seated and bitter.

The discontent was not confined to England, but spread to Scotland, where it found expression in a menacing and aggressive form. Anxious, like his father, to have the Church of Scotland conform to that of England, Charles had a new Liturgy and a new Book of Canons compiled, almost similar to those in force in England; and he ordered that these should be published and observed in Scotland. But the Scotch were in no humour to accept their liturgy or church government from England. Devotedly attached to Presbyterianism, they wanted no bishops, nor any set form of liturgy, believing rather in personal inspiration, and the efficacy of extempore prayer. And when the Bishop of Edinburgh and

[14] Hume's *History of England.*

the Dean attempted to perform the new service in Edinburgh, they were hissed, and hooted, and groaned; the Mass, it was said, was entered and Baal was in the church; nor was it without difficulty, and even danger of his life, that the bishop passed through the streets of the city.[15] Nor was this all. The various classes formed themselves into committees or Tables, as they were called, and a form of covenant was devised to which everyone eagerly subscribed, and which bound them to cling firmly to their faith, and to resist every form of innovation either in its doctrines or church government. And in the general assembly of the Covenanters at Glasgow (1638), it was resolved that the Kirk in spiritual matters was independent of the civil power, episcopacy was abolished, and the new Liturgy and Book of Canons, as well as the High Commission Court, were condemned.[16] They protested their loyalty to the King, but they did not trust him, and even while they were negotiating with his Commissioners, they organised an army, took possession of the fortresses of Scotland, and placed the army thus organised, and animated by the fiercest enthusiasm, under the command of General Leslie, a Scotchman, who in the army of Sweden had earned distinction in the German wars.[17] To chastise these rebellious Scots, Charles marched north with an army of 23,000 men, and on the banks of the Tweed came face to face with Leslie, and the army of the Covenanters. He intended to put down the Covenant by force; but the enthusiasm, it might be said the fanaticism, of the enemy appalled him. Instead of fighting he negotiated, withdrew his army south, agreed to abolish the obnoxious Liturgy and Book of Canons, as well as the High Commission Court and episcopacy, while the Scots on their side were to disband their army, and surrender the fortresses they had taken.[18]

It was at this stage that Strafford was summoned from Ireland. The Scotch were not observing the terms of their recent treaty;

[15] Burton's *History of Scotland*, Vol. VI., pp. 376-8, 443-4.
[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 485-90.
[17] Lingard's *England*, Vol. VII., pp. 206-12.
[18] *Ibid.*, Vol. VII., pp. 213-19; Lang's *History of Scotland*, Vol. III., pp. 25-64.

the King and Strafford resolved to make war on them; and the latter returned to Ireland to obtain money and men. The money was voted in four subsidies amounting to nearly £100,000, and all parties, Presbyterians and Catholics, condemned the disaffected Covenanters. And they thanked the King in effusive terms for having placed over them such a wise and vigilant governor as the Earl of Strafford.[19] These professions of loyalty Strafford did not value from the Ulster Presbyterians, and when he got together his army it was almost entirely made up of Catholics. He knew that these Ulstermen and the Covenanters were allied by blood; that Popery was equally abhorrent to both; that their religious doctrines and their notions of church government were the same; and that the Ulstermen would aid the Covenanters if they dared. To put this out of their power he tendered them an oath declaring that they disapproved of the Scotch rebellion, and those who refused to take the oath were punished. He sent the Irish army to rendezvous at Carrickfergus, and he sent two armed vessels to watch the coasts of Ulster and Cantire; he sent the King a sum of £30,000 and a regiment of 500 men; and, this done, he appointed Sir Christopher Wandesforde his deputy, and early in 1640 returned to England.[19]

The King's affairs did not prosper. The Parliament he summoned, instead of voting supplies to crush the Scotch rebels, spent their time in complaining of the innovations made in religion, of invasions of private property, and breaches of parliamentary privilege; and when the King dissolved it and summoned another, the new assembly was as intractable as the old. The truth was that the majority in Parliament were in secret sympathy with the Covenanters. Nor were Strafford's expectations realised. The Marquis of Hamilton, who was to fall on the Covenanters from the Highlands, did nothing; the Irish army which was to cross to Scotland, was not embarked;[20] and Leslie, instead of waiting to be attacked, crossed into England, with 23,000 foot and 3,000 horse. The English army which disputed the passage of the Tyne was driven

[19] Carte's *Ormond*, Vol. I., p. 89.
[20] Carte, Vol. I, pp. 104-5.

back in confusion, and fled to Yorkshire, and the two northern counties of Northumberland and Durham were overrun.[21] Popular resentment was directed against Strafford. Accusations were made against him from many quarters; a secret correspondence was opened between the English and Irish Parliament, and a committee of the latter body proceeded to England, bringing with them a "Remonstrance from the Irish Parliament against the Earl of Strafford." That body, which had so lately lauded him, now declared that under his government excessive taxes had been imposed and trade discouraged; that the decisions of the courts of law were arbitrary, oppressive, and illegal, and the fees charged to litigants excessive; that monopolies were increased and patents made void; and that as a result of these and many other such grievances, loyal subjects were brought to ruin, and officials were enriched.[22] This catalogue of complaints was listened to with pleasure in the English Parliament, as it served to still further darken the character of Strafford. Nor was this all. Lord Dillon, who was one of the Lords Justices after Strafford's departure from Ireland, was objected to by the Irish Committee, and dismissed from office, because he had been the friend of the now fallen Earl, and the Lord Chancellor and Chief Justice, and the Bishop of Derry, were impeached in the Irish Parliament.[23]

In these proceedings the Catholics and Ulster Presbyterians had acted together, but when Strafford's ruin was effected, unity ceased, and old antagonisms were revived. The Ulster Presbyterians had the same fierce hatred of Catholicity as their kinsmen of Scotland, whose revolt was in great part due to hatred of everything which savoured of Catholicism; and while these Scotch saints, with texts of Scripture on their lips, occupied the northern counties of England, they robbed and plundered the Catholic inhabitants.[24] Their view seemed to be that the Catholics ought to be exterminated. The English Puritans, who had risen to power, and who had hunted down Strafford, were equally

[21] Lingard, Vol. VII., pp. 224-5.
[22] Mahaffy's *Calendar*, pp. 260-4, Cox, pp. 60-5.
[23] Cox, p. 65.
[24] Gardiner, *History of England*, Vol. IX., p. 294.

intolerant of Catholicism; and they were strong enough to compel the King to order that the army enrolled by Strafford, and then at Carrickfergus, should be disarmed and disbanded.[25] In a similar spirit, Captain Marven, an Ulster Presbyterian member, made it a grave charge before the English Parliament, that Sir George Ratcliffe had in Ireland countenanced the erection of Papist monasteries.[26] On every side, therefore, the Irish Catholics were menaced with dangers; those in power in England and in Scotland seemed leagued together for their overthrow. The question was how to avert this threatened destruction; and, slowly and with reluctance, the conviction was forced on Roger Moore, that no weapon was left to them but force.

It was necessary to proceed with the greatest care; nor did he broach his plans to anyone without imposing on him in advance an oath of secrecy. With these precautions, he took council with the principal men of Leinster and Connaught, and afterwards with those of Ulster. He reminded them of the robbery of their lands, the refusal of the "graces," the inquiries into defective titles, the persecutions for religion. He instanced the case of Scotland, where a resolute and united nation had asserted their religious freedom; nor was there anything to prevent the Irish from attaining similar success. The army organised by Strafford would be the nucleus of a great army; there was abundance of fighting material throughout Ireland in the swordsmen, who would eagerly take up arms for the recovery of their lost lands; and there was the certainty of getting aid from abroad, from Spain, from France, from the Pope; and the certainty that Irish soldiers who had earned distinction in foreign armies would come back to fight for their native land. It was soon ascertained that the Earl of Tyrone was ready with officers and arms; and when he died in 1641, his nephew, Colonel Owen Roe O'Neill, sent a message to bid them be of good cheer, and that within a few weeks he would be in their midst, and was confident of getting aid from Richelieu.[27] The difficulty of obtaining money to pay their soldiers, and of

[25] Carte, p. 134.
[26] Cox, p. 65.
[27] Hickson's *Ireland in the Seventeenth Century*, Vol. II., pp. 341-54

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FROM A DUTCH PAINTING

inducing the Catholics of the Pale to join them, was not overlooked by Moore and his friends; but they were confident that this difficulty would disappear with the first striking success of the rebellion.[28]

To rise without sufficient preparation was dangerous; but to delay was more dangerous still, for the Scotch had declared they would have uniformity of religion, and would not lay down their arms until the Irish had abandoned Catholicity, or had been destroyed.[29] The army at Carrickfergus was to have gone to Scotland, but this design was not carried out, for the Presbyterians in the Irish Parliament did not want to put down the Covenanters, and the Catholics wanted the army at home, as it was their main reliance. Great, then was their disappointment when the King's order came in May to have this army disbanded and disarmed, and greater still when it was proposed to have the soldiers enlisted for the service of Spain.[30] But the officers from Spain were Irish, and entered into the views of their countrymen at home; and if they brought the soldiers together, it was not to fight for Spain, but for Ireland. These officers, Colonels Byrne and Plunkett, and Captains Fox and O'Neill, in consultation with the leaders at home, Moore, Maguire, MacMahon, and Sir Phelim O'Neill, fixed on the 23rd of October for the rising; and, with few exceptions, the people everywhere outside the Pale joined the project with enthusiasm.[31]

When they contemplated their present condition, and remembered all that they and their ancestors had suffered, their minds were crowded with bitter memories. Sixty years had passed since Pelham and Grey had wasted Munster; and the Munstermen remembered how their fair province had been turned into a desert; how famine had been deliberately provoked; how neither age, nor sex, nor innocence could protect the people from the soldiers' fury. The O'Mores in their exile in Kerry sighed for the lands of Leix, from which their ancestors had been driven;[32] the O'Connors

[28] *Relation of Lord Maguire.*
[29] *Journals of the Irish House of Commons*, Vol. I., p. 311
[30] Carte, Vol. III., *King's Letters.*
[31] Carte, Vol. I., pp. 158-64.
[32] Strafford's *Letters*, Vol. I., pp. 68-9

looked back to the days when their ancestors ruled in Offaly, and both these families recalled with bitterness the massacre of Mullaghmast. The lands of the Kavanaghs and the MacMurroghs had passed into strangers' hands; the O'Byrnes had but recently been defrauded of their fields; the O'Farrells mourned over their lands of Annally; and in Connaught, the attempted Plantations and confiscations of Strafford were but of yesterday, and the savageries of Bingham, though long past, were still bitterly recalled. But in Ulster all these causes of animosity could be found, and in an aggravated form. The people had seen war, wasting of crops, destruction of houses, universal famine, men and women feeding on docks and nettles, children eating the carcase of their dead mother, O'Cahan's country covered over with the unburied corpses of the starved. They had seen a whole province planted by foreigners, to make room for whom, those who fought against England, and even those who fought for her, were dispossessed. Of those dispossessed some were in exile, some had perished in foreign wars, some had died of sorrow at home, some wandered about the country, houseless and homeless, some had small patches of land, and lived as cottiers or day labourers; while the fields which their ancestors owned were tenanted by English and Scotch, prosperous, proud, arrogant, insolent, and overbearing; regarding the natives in their midst with that haughty disdain with which conquerors look upon the conquered; regarding Catholicity as superstition, and Catholics as idolators, and priests and bishops as public enemies, unworthy of the most elementary rights of subjects. Such were the feelings with which the Irish Catholics rose to arms, and in such circumstances it was inevitable that they should have been guilty of cruelties and crimes.

The plan of the leaders was to have all the garrison towns attacked wherever practicable; and a force of 200 was to capture the Castle of Dublin, in which great stores of arms were kept. For this exploit, on which so much depended, Moore, MacMahon, Maguire and others came; but it was discovered that, instead of 200, they had but 80 men. Yet even this small force would have been sufficient, for the defences of the Castle were of the weakest, and but a few soldiers were in garrison, the

authorities being quite off their guard.[33] To carry out their plans secrecy above all was necessary; but MacMahon, under the influence of drink, as it seems, confided the whole design to a disreputable Irishman named O'Connolly, who straightway made his way to the house of Parsons, one of the Lords Justices. It was late on the night of the 22nd, but the matter was urgent; Parsons consulted his colleagues: a council was called; the defences of the Castle were strengthened; and on the following day it was not the authorities that were surprised, but their opponents.[34] MacMahon and Maguire were arrested, and afterwards executed; the others escaped. In Munster and Leinster the rising was unimportant; the mass of the people remained quiescent, waiting for a lead from Dublin; but in Ulster the rising did take place as planned, and with important results. Some towns, indeed, successfully resisted, Coleraine, Ballymena, Belfast, and Antrim; Carrickfergus under Chichester defied all their attacks, and Enniskillen, defended by Cole, and Londonderry, which the same Cole had forewarned; but on the other hand, the whole open country became theirs. Dungannon and Charlemont Castles were captured by Sir Phelim O'Neill; Moneymore was taken by the O'Hagans; Mountjoy by the O'Quinns; Monaghan by MacMahon; Tanderagee by O'Hanlon; the O'Reillys possessed themselves of Cavan; the O'Farrells of Longford; the Maguires of Fermanagh; while Sir Conn Magennis took Newry, with the arms and stores it contained; and on the 4th of November, Sir Phelim O'Neill arrived there with all his forces, and was recognised as the head of the army of Ulster. He stated that he was commissioned by Charles I. to take up arms in his name, and in defence of his royal prerogatives; that he might arrest and seize the goods and persons of all the English Protestants, but must leave the Scotch planters unmolested. There was, in fact, no such commission; it was a forgery concocted by Rory Maguire, who had found in Charlemont Castle an old royal seal, and affixed it to the paper, and thus imposed on the public, who believed the document to be genuine.[35]

[33] Carte, Vol. I., pp. 168-9.

[34] Temple's *History of the Rebellion*, p. 19; Ormond *MSS.*, Vol. II., pp. 1-6. [35] Carte, Vol. I., pp. 180-2; Hickson, Vol. I., pp. 112-15.

This rebellion has often been described as the massacre of 1641. It has been said that the purpose of the Catholics was to exterminate the Protestants, and so well was this purpose carried out, that, in the first weeks of their triumph, the Catholics murdered the Protestants by thousands. Temple puts the number murdered at 105,000, others as high as 300,000; Clarendon reduces the figure to 40,000; Sir William Petty puts the number at 37,000; Miss Hickson is quite certain that, in the first three or four years of the rebellion 25,000 at least were murdered; while Warner, an English Protestant, after careful inquiry, declared that the exact number killed within two years after the rising was 4,028, a number amounting to 8,000 more being killed by ill usage. Gardiner's figures are 4,000 or 5,000 murdered, and 10,000 died of ill usage.[36] The numbers given by Temple and Borlase are grotesque exaggerations; for the number of English Protestants in Ulster was not more than 20,000, the Scotch about 100,000; and at first the Scotch were unmolested.[37] And of the English many lived in towns which were not captured; many fled to the towns for shelter; many reached Dublin, so many that there was scarcity of provisions in the city; many fled the country and never returned; in Fermanagh, Captain Marven saved the lives of 6,000 women and children; and of those who were taken prisoners, not the most ferocious partisan can affirm that all were put to death.[38] How many were killed, as distinct from those who fell in battle, or perished of ill-usage, has not been, and can not be, ascertained. Lord Chichester told the King on the 24th of October, that so far only one person had been killed by the rebels; and in the letters of the Lords Justices in the end of October there is no mention made of murders committed, though it is said there was much loss of life.[39] The letters of Lords Ormond, and Clanricarde, and of the President

[36] Carte, 177-8; Temple, p. 97; Gardiner, Vol. x., pp. 64-9; Warren's *History of the Rebellion*, 296-7; Hickson, Vol. i., p. 163; Petty's *Tracts*, pp. 312-313. (*The Political Anatomy of Ireland.*)

[37] Carte, p. 178. In 1633 there were in Ulster but 13,000 persons between the ages of sixteen and sixty (Prendergast's *Cromwellian Settlement*, p. 55.

[38] Curry's Letter to Harris.

[39] *Ormond MSS.*, Vol. ii., pp. 7, 20, 35; Mahaffy's *Calendar*, p. 342.

of Munster, are in a similar strain; and even Temple says that at first the rebels were intent on robbery rather than on murder.[40] A Government Commission was appointed in December, 1641, to ascertain what property was destroyed, but got no directions as to persons killed, nor was it until the following January that the terms of reference were extended.[41] A further Commission with a similar object was appointed ten years later, and it is from the evidence given at these Commissions that the extravagant estimates of Borlase and others have been drawn.

The first of these Commissions consisted of seven dispossessed Protestants; the witnessess had also been despoiled; and many of them and their friends had been the victims of great suffering and hardship; nor is it likely that such witnesses could or would give impartial evidence, nor would the Commissioners be disposed to give an impartial verdict.[42] Those who were accused got no opportunity of being represented at the inquiry, and could not, therefore, test the veracity of the witnesses, nor point out discrepancies and contradictions in the evidence they gave. When the Catholics demanded an impartial inquiry they were refused; and when they published an account of the murders done on the Irish by the English, the book was ordered to be burned; and a poor sailor was imprisoned for selling it.[43] The wildest statements were accepted. Many of them were hearsay. The same fact was narrated by different witnesses and told with additions and embellishments, until it no longer appeared the same, but a different event. Embittered by the memory of what they had gone through, filled with resentment against those who had wronged them, desiring to pose as martyrs, and so excite sympathy, anxious to recover what they had lost, and to be revenged on those who had despoiled them, they were not scrupulous or exact in what they swore. Those who escaped to Dublin, or perhaps left the country, those who died of cold and want, and hunger, those who fell in battle, were all put down as murdered,

[40] *Ormond MSS.*, pp. 49, 54; Carte, pp. 38-47.
[41] Prendergast, p. 60.
[42] Letter to Harris, pp. 65-6. The Chairman was Dr. Jones, afterwards Bishop of Clogher, and at one time scout-master in Cromwell's army, "a post," says Harris, "not so decent for one of his functions."
[43] Prendergast, p. 70.

and so also were some who forty years after were known to be alive and well.[44] One Michael Harrison had heard that an Irish soldier had killed an Englishman, but he could not remember the name of the man who told him; Captain Hume was positive that at Tully Castle in Fermanagh, 75 Protestants were barbarously murdered, but he could only remember the names of twelve of them, and of the Catholics who murdered them he could not remember a single name,[45] and Peter Hill swore that the Irish sometimes eat the English, and sometimes eat one another.[46] Where interest, or bigotry, or race hatred failed to vitiate the deponent's narrative, terror lent its aid; and it is difficult to believe that serious men could attach any importance to the ludicrous statements of some of these witnesses. An educated man like Dr. Maxwell, Rector of Tynan, declared that for three days no cock was heard to crow, nor dog to bark, though the rebels came around in great multitudes.[47] At Loughgall the waters of the river were turned into blood; at Dungannon a vision was seen of a woman walking round the town with a spear in her hand; at Lisburn, by the light of a house set on fire, a phantom battle was seen at night, in which between 1,000 and 1,500 horsemen were engaged; at Portadown, there arose from the water the vision of a woman, her eyes shining, her hair dishevelled, her skin white as snow, who repeated often the one word, "revenge." When the Catholic priest interrogated it, the phantom answered nothing; to the questions of the Protestant minister it only answered "revenge;" but after the minister prayed it departed, and was not seen for six weeks, after which it returned with the one word "revenge" still on its lips.[48]

But while it would be unjust to charge the Catholics with the intention of murdering all Protestants, it would be also unjust to deny that the Protestants suffered grievous wrongs, or that many of them perished besides those who fell in battle. Driven from

[44] Hickson, Vol, I., pp. 188, 200, 221; Castlehaven's *Memoirs*, p. 16.
[45] *Ibid.*, pp. 228, 215.
[46] Fitzpatrick's *Bloody Bridge and other Papers Relating to the Rebellion of* 1641, p. 89.
[47] Prendergast's *Cromwellian Settlement*, p. 56.
[48] Miss Hickson, pp., 194-5, 179-80; Temple, pp. 121-3; Fitzpatrick, p. 202.

their homes in wintry weather, robbed of their cattle and money, and even clothes, numbers of them perished of cold and hunger. Some in trying to defend their property were probably struck down, some in trying to defend their relatives; some were struck down through revenge by one whom they might have injured in the past. The army of the Catholics was little more than an undisciplined mob, and necessarily contained men with the instincts of the robber, and even the murderer; and unawed by a great leader, and without the soldier's sense of obedience, avarice and cruelty and revenge could not be altogether restrained. When they captured the Castle of Lisgoold, they put its garrison of 50 to the sword, at Tulla its garrison of 30; at Portadown at least 80 persons were precipitated into the river, and an equal number at Corbridge. A Presbyterian minister saw them kill 25 persons; 14 or 15 were killed at Monaghan, 30 near Clones, in Longford a Protestant minister.[49] In Fermanagh 40 persons were compelled to renounce Protestantism, and then were killed; between Armagh and Kinnard many were put to death; at Donaghmore, three Protestants; and a Scotchman, who had formerly wronged an Irishman, was taken to a public house, by his former victim, made drunk, and then hanged.[50] At Lurgan, when the place surrendered on terms, Sir William Bromley and his family were allowed to depart in safety, but his servants were put to the sword.[51]

These acts are disgraceful enough, but are not remarkable in a country where the fiercest animosities were aroused, where anarchy reigned, and where an undisciplined army was practically uncontrolled; and the number murdered fell far short of the thousands which it was the business of partisan historians to create.[52] Nor were there wanting many cases in which the feelings of humanity, and the virtues of charity and hospitality, were displayed. Sir Phelim O'Neill, in his proclamation of the 24th October, avowed that he wanted to hurt no subjects, English or Scotch, and had recourse to

[49] Carte, p. 189; Lecky's *History of Ireland*, Vol. I., pp. 61-2 *Ormonde MSS.*, Vol. II., p. 38.

[50] Lecky, pp. 63-4.

[51] Carte, p. 188.

[52] Letter to Harris, p. 64. Even Temple admits that in the early stages of the war the rebels were more intent on robbery than on murder.

arms only for the defence of the liberty and the lives of the native Irish.[53] Nor did he in the early stages of the war countenance any atrocities. His mother sheltered many of the plundered Protestants; O'Reilly sent 1,500 from Belturbet to Dublin with an escort, and though some were plundered on the way, no lives were sacrificed; and the same was done with Clogy, son-in-law to Bedell, who, with 1,200 English, was sent to Dundalk.[54] When the Castles of Balanenagh, Keilagh and Croghan surrendered on terms, the terms were scrupulously observed; Mr. Conway, when he surrendered his castle, was allowed to depart, bringing his money and valuables with him.[55] Bedell, the Protestant Bishop of Kilmore, was kept in prison in Lough Coutra Castle in Lough Erne, and allowed to see his friends, and to protect them. He had little respect for the Catholics or their religion, yet they on their part respected him, his honesty, his earnestness, his zeal, his intense religious convictions; when he died the Catholic army attended his funeral, and fired a volley over his grave.[56]

The government of Ireland was then in the hands of Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlase as Lords Justices. The latter was a weak man of little capacity, and the guiding hand was that of Parsons.[57] He was of mean extraction, had little education, was plodding, assiduous, and indefatigable, greedy of gain, and eager to raise a fortune, cunning, heartless, cruel, and corrupt, and much less intent on advancing the King's interest than his own.[58] And so well did he succeed that, though he came to Ireland poor, he soon became a wealthy man, with large estates in Tyrone, and Wicklow, and Fermanagh. He hated the Irish, and he hated the King; he was a Puritan, and owed his position to the Puritans in the English Parliament; and during the rebellion in Ireland, he did his best to serve the Parliament, and was faithless to the King.[59] Warned that great numbers were coming from Spain to Ireland,

[53] Mahaffy's *Calendar*. p. 342.
[54] Clogy's *Life of Bedell*, pp. 241-4.
[55] Carte, pp. 173-4, 188.
[56] Clogy, pp. 44-5, 179-81, 205-6, 230.
[57] Carte, Vol. I., p. 263.
[58] Gardiner's *England*, Vol. x., p. 45.
[59] Carte, 190-1.

he took no heed, nor did he pay any attention to the warning of Sir William Cole in October that a rebellion was imminent.[60] When the King conceded two of the "graces"—viz., that limiting the King's title to lands to a period of 60 years; and the abandonment of his claims to the lands of Connaught and Clare; and when nothing remained to give these concessions the force of law, but their passage through Parliament, Parsons prorogued it rather than grant them; and this contrary to the respectful remonstrance of the Parliament itself.[61] Nor would he even issue a proclamation that these "graces" would be passed into law, so that thus the public mind might be appeased; and when Parliament was again summoned in November, he again capriciously prorogued it to February, without the "graces" being passed, or even without taking measures to suppress the rebellion.[62]

It seemed as if he did not want the rebellion ended. It afforded his friends, the English Parliament, a pretext for raising an army, and it would involve more forfeitures of Irish estates, in which the cupidity of Parsons himself might be still further gratified; and instead of placating the rebels he proceeded to drive them to further desperation.[63] The King wished that those who submitted should be received to mercy; but Parsons refused to pardon any freeholders; and he hedged round any pardon with so many conditions that it was unacceptable to all.[64] At a public meeting in Dublin, he declared, that within a year all the Catholics there would be destroyed.[65] Nor were these empty threats. The Wicklow natives had risen in revolt, and captured some English castles. Parsons ordered Sir Charles Coote, even a more ferocious bigot than himself, and more blood-thirsty, to march into Wicklow and spare nobody, not even infants if they were above a span in length. The order was well carried out. Rarely did either commander or soldiers show any compassion; and when one soldier did, and protested against the murder of infants, a fellow soldier told him that it was safer have

[60] Carte, pp. 166-7; Miss Hickson, Vol. II., p. 361.
[61] *Journals of the Irish House of Commons*, August 6th.
[62] Carte, pp. 228-30.
[63] *Ibid.*, pp. 200-1; *Ormond MSS.*, Vol. II., pp. 27, 55.
[64] Carte, p. 296.
[65] Letter to Harris, p. 53.

them killed; that nits would be lice. Coote saw a soldier with an infant writhing at the end of his pike, and only remarked that he liked such frolics; and an officer hearing the Bishop of Meath preach that some mercy should be shown to children, threw up his commission in disgust.[66] When Ormond was sent against the rebels, in February, 1642, he was ordered to kill every man able to bear arms.[67] Coote did the same round Clontarf, and when 56 of the natives took to their boats, the soldiers took other boats and pursued them, and flung men, women, and children into the sea.[68]

These proceedings profoundly alarmed the Catholics of the Pale. Loyal to the English connection, they were satisfied with even a mild toleration of their religion. The persecutions of recent years had brought discontent amongst them, and some had coquetted with Roger Moore about the rebellion, but drew back before it broke out.[69] After it broke out they went to the Lords Justices, and got arms to put down the rebels.[70] But they soon found themselves regarded as enemies; the arms given them were demanded back, and they were ordered, on pain of death, to leave Dublin within 24 hours. When they heard the speech of Parsons, and saw the butcheries of Coote; and when, in answer to a mild remonstrance from Longford asking for toleration of their religion, the English Parliament declared that they never would tolerate the Popish religion in Ireland, or in any part of his Majesty's dominions;[71] then the Catholics of the Pale felt convinced that what was aimed at was the destruction of their religion, the confiscation of their properties, and the sacrifice of their lives. Nor could they with safety any longer continue to defy the rebels. Except Londonderry, Coleraine, Enniskillen, and part of Down, all Ulster was overrun; Leitrim, Longford, Westmeath, and Louth, were in flames, so also was Wicklow. Drogheda was besieged by a large

[66] Carte, p. 243; Prendergast's *Cromwellian Settlement*, p. 58.
[67] *Ibid.*, p. 283.
[68] Letter to Harris, p. 98; *Ormond MSS.*, Vol. II., pp. 46-7.
[69] *Lord Maguire's Narrative;* Temple, pp. 212-44.
[70] *Ormond MSS.*, Vol. II., p. 9.
[71] Carte, pp. 218-19; Cox—Appendix 3. Cox calls this remonstrance scandalous, though they asked for nothing but the repeal of the penal laws against Catholicity; they acquiesced in the confiscations of their lands, and they professed loyalty to the King.

army, and a party of 600 English soldiers sent from Dublin to relieve it, was met at Julianstown, and cut to pieces; and as a result numbers deserted from the English to the Irish ranks.[72] Early in December these Catholic lords were summoned to Dublin by the Lords Justices, ostensibly to consult with them. They refused, at the same time protesting their loyalty to the King, but declaring that if they came to Dublin, they were convinced they would be murdered. A few days later a party of them met to take counsel together at Swords, but the Lords Justices had their meeting proclaimed.[73]

In this extremity nothing was left to them but to make terms with the old Irish, and a meeting was held at the Hill of Crofty in Meath, on December 17th, and five days later a further meeting at Tara. Moore, MacMahon, and Philip O'Reilly, were on one side, Lords Fingal, Gormanstown, Netterville, and Slane, and Sir Nicholas Barnewell on the other. On the question of religion both sides were agreed, but not on the question of attachment to the King. Yet Moore was keenly alive to the advantages of co-operation; and if he could get for his countrymen toleration of their religion, and security of their properties and lives, under an English King, he would be satisfied. The Catholic Lords were convinced of his sincerity, and on the basis of freedom of conscience, defence of the royal prerogative, and making the King's subjects in Ireland as free as those in England, the alliance was formed.[74] The Catholic Lords drew up a petition, and an apology to the King for taking up arms, informing him of what they had borne, and of the dangers which menaced them; assuring him of their loyalty, and of their willingness to sacrifice their lives in his defence, and of their readiness at any moment to lay down their arms, if their persons and property were protected, and their just grievances redressed. And the better to have their petition granted, they sent a letter to the Queen, so that she might plead on their behalf. Their apology, however, was little respected, their grievances not redressed, and an offer which they made to the Lords Justices to discuss by Commissioners the points

[72] Carte, 240–3; Cox, 77–80.
[73] *Ibid.*, pp. 243–4; *Ormond MSS.*, pp. 36–40.
[74] *Ibid.*, pp. 248–9.

of difference was treated with contempt, and did not get the courtesy of a reply. Thus repulsed, they were compelled to continue in arms, and organised their forces as best they could. Lord Gormanstown became general-in-chief, and Lords Slane, Trimleston and Dunsany were assigned commands.[75]

This defection of the Pale greatly increased the extent of the rebellion; the same object was promoted by the continued cruelties of the government officials. In January the government forces were strengthened by the arrival of 1,400 soldiers, and in the next month nearly 3,000 more came. This enabled Ormond to march out from Dublin with 3,000 men, and the whole country round Dublin was laid waste. He was to kill all able to bear arms, but Coote, who was in his army as Provost Marshal, even exceeded these instructions, and to such an extent that Ormond had to remonstrate.[76] The President of Munster, St. Leger, acted similarly in the south; executed 50 persons at Waterford by martial law; at one place killed three, at another four, at another eight, not one of whom he knew to be guilty of any crime. One of his officers, seeing some men and a woman standing inoffensively at their doors, put them to death, and a farmer named Ryan, going to the forge with his plough, was murdered; in addition to which St. Leger drove off the people's cattle, and burned the houses on his march. The local gentry had no sympathy with the rebellion, but they were shocked at this wanton sacrifice of life and property, and remonstrated. St. Leger's answer was that they were all rebels, and that it would be well if the best of them were hanged, an answer which drove them to rebellion. They took Cashel at the end of December, plundered the English, and murdered 13 of them. The others escaped with difficulty into Cork, and all of them would have been murdered but for the intervention of the Franciscan friars. Lord Mountgarrett gathered together a considerable force; captured Kilkenny and Waterford and the neighbouring towns; and swept the English out of the three counties of Kilkenny, Waterford, and Tipperary, though he was careful to discountenance plunder

[75] Carte, Vol. I., pp. 249-53.
[76] *Ibid.*, pp. 277-83; Carte, *Papers*—Letter of Lord Ossory.

and none were killed by his troops except those who resisted them. Quarrels, however, arose between himself and Lord Roche, and Mountgarrett in disgust retired to Kilkenny. The English took courage ; fresh supplies and stores reached St. Leger from England ; and Cork was left in English hands.[77] Concurrently with these events, a party of Protestants, fleeing from Mayo to Galway, was set upon at Shrule, and every man murdered ; and all Mayo and Sligo, as well as Roscommon, was soon in rebellion, and so also was Galway county ; but the town was reduced by Lord Clanricarde, who through all these trying times steadfastly refused to join the rebellion.[78]

In the meantime the Lords Justices continued their exasperating tactics. They refused to pardon those who submitted ; and when Lord Clanricarde, in order to pacify Galway, received the submission of those in revolt, they disapproved of his act, and ordered their commanders not to hold any intercourse or treaty with any Irish or Papists, but to prosecute all such rebels, harbourers or relievers of rebels with fire and sword.[79] Colonel MacMahon, who had been in prison for some months, they put on the rack, as they did also Mr. Patrick Barnewell of Kilbrew, a quiet, inoffensive, old man, more addicted to the pleasures of a rural life than to politics ; and they subjected to similar treatment Sir John Reade, an English Privy Councillor, and Colonel in the English army, guilty of no crime except that in his journey to England he carried with him a petition from the Catholics to the King.[80] In a similar spirit they threw Lord Castlehaven into prison, kept him there for twenty weeks without trial, and would perhaps have put him on the rack but that he was fortunate enough to make his escape.[81] They were no doubt emboldened to act thus because of their accession of strength and the recent successes of their arms. Ormond and Coote, returning from Athy to Dublin, encountered the Leinster forces at Kilrush, and defeated them with the loss of 700 killed.[82] In the previous month

[77] Carte, pp. 264-71.
[78] Miss Hickson, Vol. I., pp. 387-99 ; Carte, *Papers*.
[79] Carte, Vol. I., pp. 292-3 ; 320-3.
[80] *Ibid.*, 300-1 ; *Ormond MSS.*, Vol. II., pp. 151-2.
[81] *Ibid.*, pp. 298-300 ; Castlehaven's *Memoirs*, pp. 29-30.
[82] Carte, pp. 315-16.

(March), the siege of Drogheda had been raised. Since November it had been besieged by Sir Phelim O'Neill, and had gallantly repulsed all his attacks. Its governor, Sir Henry Tichborne, was a man of great courage and resource, always on his guard, and though more than once reduced to great distress for want of provisions, he continued to defend the town until the end of March, when the patience of the besiegers was exhausted, and the siege was raised.[83] Tichborne followed up his success by attacking and capturing Dundalk and Ardee; and Ormond, who had gone north, was anxious to attack Newry, which with the forces at his command he could easily have captured, but that he was peremptorily recalled by the Lords Justices to Dublin.[84] On his way he wasted and spoiled, and could boast that he had made desolate an extent of territory 25 miles in length, and 17 in breadth. To the Catholics it was but a poor compensation for all these miseries and defeats, that in some small encounter near Trim, Sir Charles Coote was killed.[85]

It was plain, that they should change their plans; they should prepare themselves for a sustained, and not merely a spasmodic, effort. Between the army of the Pale and the army of Ulster there should be a better understanding, a more hearty co-operation, a closer union. Some central authority was necessary to guide and direct the Catholic forces and provide for their needs. Unity of purpose and plan was essential, else there would be no strength, and no successful resistance; individual effort was not enough; and if such action and effort were continued it would inevitably involve still greater miseries than those already experienced, and provoke still more crushing disasters.

[83] Temple's *Rebellion*, pp. 173-197; Cox, 87-92.
[84] Carte, pp. 287-91.
[85] *Ibid.*, Vol. I., pp. 303, 317-18.

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